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CONTENTS

23 June 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

U.S. Carries Out Double Nuclear Test in Nevada 1
'Fundamentally New' Verification Idea Viewed *[Chernyshev in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Jun]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Toronto Economic Summit Results Summarized 3
Gerasimov on Palestinians, Shepilov in UK *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jun]* 3
Sychev Discusses CEMA-EEC Declaration 3
ILO Session Completes Work in Geneva 22 Jun 4
Academy Historian Views Idea of European Unity *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jun]* 4
European Security Committee Official Interviewed 6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Canadian Diplomats in Moscow Asked To Leave 7
Solovyev, U.S. Businessman Discuss Relations *[PRAVDA 22 Jun]* 7
U.S. 'Scandal' Over Pentagon Contractors Grows 7
U.S. Submitting to 'Right-Wing' on Afghanistan 8

China

Gromyko Welcomes Chinese Youth Delegation *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jun]* 8
    Youth Leader Interviewed 10

Northeast Asia

New Mongolian Foreign Minister Appointed 10
Japan's Stand on U.S. Nuclear Arms Criticized *[Dmitriyev]* 10

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Army Official Predicts Prolonged War *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 21 Jun]* 11
Pakistan Continues Arms Shipments to Afghanistan 12
    Afghan News Briefing 22 Jun 12
Soviet Red Cross Briefs Press on POW's 13
Pakistani Envoy Interviewed on POW Issue *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 21 Jun]* 14
Experiences of POW in Afghanistan Described *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Jun]* 15
Gerasimov on Emigration to Israel Via Romania *[Tel Aviv MA'ARIV 21 Jun]* 17
Delegation Signs Economic Protocols in PDRY 18

East Europe

CPCZ's Jakes Cited on Czechoslovak-Soviet Ties *[PRAVDA 21 Jun]* 18
Low Turnout Reported at Polish Council Elections *[PRAVDA 21 Jun]* 18
Further on Romanian Chemical Waste Scandal *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jun]* 19

West Europe

Medvedev on Soviet 'War of Aggression' *[Helsink]* 20
Two Soviet Warships Visit Finnish Port *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Jun]* 20

Notes Exchanged With Sweden on Zone Agreements 20
Shevardnadze Receives FRG Ambassador 20
Bondarenko on Austria's EC Approach *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 22 Jun]* 20
Gorbachev Congratulates New PCI Leader 21
Gusev Receives Italian Industrialist G. Porta *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jun]* 21

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Sending New Military Units to Panama 22
Haitian Party Leader Interviewed on Coup *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jun]* 22
Commentaries View Haiti's Future After Coup 22
  Bogomolov in PRAVDA *[21 Jun]* 22
  TASS Analyst Comments *[Chigir]* 23
Ortega Urges Ending Regional Arms Race 24
Chilean Communist Party Issues Declaration 24
Peruvian Premier Congratulated on Appointment *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jun]* 26
Ecuadoran President Congratulated on Election *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jun]* 26

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

'Mass Hypnosis' in Nagorno-Karabakh; Troops Sent *[PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 27
Armenians Demonstrate for Airikyan's Release *[AFP]* 27
Teacher on Problems of Bilingual Schools *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 26 May]* 27
Estonian Party Conference Platform Published *[Tallinn]* 28
Tallinn Rally Backs Economic 'Autonomy,' Reform
[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 19 Jun] 29
Songayla Notes Economic Reform Problems *[Vilnius]* 30
Protest Demands Ouster of Kuybyshev Party Boss *[AFP]* 30
Demonstrators Warned on Respect for Law *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jun]* 30
Shcherbitskiy Addresses Transcarpathian Aktiv *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jun]* 31
Invigorating Party Organizations in Ukraine *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 15 Jun]* 34
Prosecutors Fighting Substandard Production *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 14 Jun]* 35
Legality of Curb on Chernobyl Rally Questioned *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 8 Jun]* 35
Shevchenko Presents Awards to Clergymen *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 15 Jun]* 36
Christian Jubilee Celebrations in Kiev *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 16 Jun]* 36
Donetsk Obkom Elects New First Secretary 37
New Government Appointments Reported
[SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR (OTDEL PERVYY) No 18] 37
New State Commission for Arctic Affairs 37
Laxity in Buryat Party Bodies Criticized *[PRAVDA 18 Jun]* 38
Party Conference Preparations Near Completion 39
University Conference Candidates Discussed *[MOSCOW NEWS No 22]* 39
A. Bovin Opposes Third Term, Party Secrecy *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 23 Jun]* 41
Officials Surveyed on Reaction to Theses *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 Jun]* 42
Poll Shows Growing Doubt About Progress *[MOSCOW NEWS No 22]* 45
'Roads of Restructuring' Roundtable Shown 47
  'Unfulfilled Hopes' 47
  Changes Since April 1985 50
Paper Defends Printing of Anti-Semitic Item *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 21 Jun]* 53
'Selectiveness' of CPSU Anthology Criticized *[MOSCOW NEWS No 23]* 54
Appeal for Monument to Victims of Stalinism 55
Stalin's 'Criminal Passiveness' in War Noted 56

Economic

'Major Overhaul' of Financial Autonomy Advocated 56
Georgian Party Chief Discusses Restructuring *[TRUD 22 Jun]* 57

Agricultural

All-Union Seminar Discusses Sheep Raising *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 8 Jun]* 58
Agricultural Developments for 18-22 Jun 58

Scientific

'Cosmos-1955' Satellite Launched 23 Jun 59
Cosmonauts Prepare for Space Walk From 'Mir' 59
Zaykov Addresses Moscow Science Session 59

Military

Booster Rocket Launchings Into Pacific Announced 60

U.S. Carries Out Double Nuclear Test in Nevada

LD2206202088 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Washington June 22 TASS—The United States has set off today two nuclear devices with an aggregate yield of up to 150 kilotons in the Nevada test range. As a spokesman for the Energy Department, which is in charge of the nuclear tests, said, that blast had to do with arms. Yet he rejected the reports in the mass media that the double nuclear test was designed to study the effect of an explosion in outer space of two missiles with nuclear warheads meeting head-on.

Previously a simultaneous blast of two nuclear devices was conducted in 1982.

'Fundamentally New' Verification Idea Viewed

PM2206133188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jun 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Chernyshev, TASS observer on military issues: "For an Integrated Verification System"]

[Text] Speaking at the UN General Assembly third special session on disarmament, E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, expressed the idea that one of the most important tasks for the world community and the direct disarmament forums operating within the UN system is the formation of a concept of disarmament based on the idea of the integrated and interdependent nature of the modern world. It was stressed that the Soviet Union would like to see an equally integrated system for verifying the arms limitation and reduction process and disarmament as a whole.

In this connection it should be noted that, by opening up the path of verification as extensively as possible, the USSR has already made a substantial contribution to the assertion of new forms of communal life in our world and to the achievement of a genuinely revolutionary turnaround in the traditional views of the limits of openness in relations between states. The very philosophy of the Soviet approach to the problem of real verification reveals with particular fullness and graphic detail the evolution of our approach, which has now been formed within a system of nontraditional political views—in other words, new political thinking. Error-proof, indisputable, reliable, and extremely strict and scrupulous methods that ensure 100-percent confidence that arms will be eliminated, observance of commitments with regard to remaining arms and permitted military activity, and no attempts to sidestep bans—that and nothing else is how the Soviet side views verification.

The above concept of verification was first implemented in the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Now the USSR is proposing extending it to other disarmament spheres too. And in this area, in my view, the following is of particular importance.

First, the verification proposals relating to future talks on conventional armed forces and arms in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. Our country considers it expedient to start reducing conventional arms by eradicating existing imbalances and asymmetries on the basis of a reciprocal exchange of data, which—as M.S. Gorbachev proposed at the Moscow summit—could be implemented before the talks start. One's attention is drawn to the fact that in order to check the data presented by the sides and thereby to eradicate any differences in assessments it is proposed to conduct on-site inspection [inspektsiya] immediately after the talks begin—that is, even before agreements on the reductions themselves are reached. I recall that under the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles this monitoring is to be carried out before weapons start to be eliminated, but after the signing and ratification of the treaty. This means that the proposals on the checking of initial data on conventional arms are yet another step forward along the path of further expanding openness in the military sphere—a step that should promote the joint elaboration of an arms reduction agreement itself.

For me—and I worked for a number of years as a USSR Defense Ministry representative at the Geneva talks on armed forces and arms reduction in central Europe—this fundamentally new way of posing the question of the verification of initial data is particularly striking. After all, in Vienna the problem of differences in evaluations of the data presented by the sides has still not been overcome because of the lack of any possibility of checking the data. And it should be stressed that for almost the entire 15 years of the Vienna talks this situation has been exploited by the Western participants as a "numbers barrier." But at future talks in connection with the new Soviet proposal those opposed to reaching agreement will have no formal grounds for a "discussion about numbers."

Second, the idea proposed by the Soviet Union that interested countries should collectively elaborate technical means of verifying the absence of nuclear weapons aboard warships. The readiness expressed by our country, on the basis of reciprocity with the United States and the other nuclear powers, to declare the presence or absence of nuclear weapons aboard our warships visiting foreign ports is reinforced by the verification proposal. This means that there is a real possibility of solving a problem that is currently of such concern to the peoples of many countries.

Third, the USSR has demonstrated its broad view of the prospects for expanding the concept of verification as the disarmament process goes on to encompass more and more countries. And, E.A. Shevardnadze stated, international forms of verification will be needed. In developing this idea it is proposed to set up specific organizations: an international monitoring and verification agency under UN auspices, and a multilateral center for cooperation in the sphere of verification.

This broad range of proposals attests to the possibility of placing disarmament on a realistic footing and to the USSR's concern that ali future agreements be backed up by effective verification. Only in these circumstances can we be confident that they will be observed by all participants, that mutual trust will be strengthened, and that progress along the road to a secure and stable world will be ensured.

Toronto Economic Summit Results Summarized

LD2206082788 Moscow TASS in English 0607 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Toronto June 22 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Ivan Mironov and Vitaliy Chukseyev:

The 14th economic summit of the seven leading capitalist nations ended here Tuesday with the adoption of an economic declaration.

The attending leaders of Canada, the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan discussed the more important financial and trade problems of the West and various aspects of relations with the East.

The declaration, read out at a meeting with newsmen by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, mostly speaks of positive trends in the capitalist economies over recent years.

It shows that the leaders of the seven countries have failed to find, or perhaps have not even looked for, keys to serious problems confronting the West for a long time, including, in particular, the enormous budget deficit of the United States, which tells badly on the finances of its allies, disagreements over farm subsidies, and the huge foreign debt of "Third World" nations.

As far as ways to deal with these problems are concerned the declaration abounds in calls for "cooperation" and "joint international efforts" but lacks specific constructive proposals.

The Western countries made several initiatives in a bid to somewhat alleviate the debt service burden of developing countries. This includes suggestions that creditor countries extend repayment periods, partially write off liabilities and cut lending rates as they see fit, among other things.

It is noted here that these proposals which, incidentally, have been adopted contrary to the U.S. posture, do not offer a cardinal solution to the financial problems of the "Third "World".

It has been announced here that the next economic summit will take place in France on July 14-16, 1989.

Gerasimov on Palestinians, Shepilov in UK

PM2206120388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center G. Charodeyev report: "How Important It Is To Be Serious"]

[Text] A routine briefing was held at the press center on Zubovskiy Avenue, at which G. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, spoke to Soviet and foreign journalists.

"Recently," he said, "Soviet and foreign journalists, including Palestinians living in Moscow, have approached the USSR Foreign Ministry. They ask how they are to interpret the words of Mikhail Zadornov, the writer and satirist, who mentioned some 'Palestinian terrorists' during a television broadcast from the 'Miss Moscow' contest. An appeal on this subject also came to us from the UN mission in Moscow. I do not take it upon myself to say what incited the writer to express himself so indiscreetly. The official authorities in our country are not accountable for the words of private individuals. But our opinion on this subject is that M. Zadornov's statement is absolutely irresponsible and in no way reflects the opinion of the Soviet public. No one practically anywhere in the world, either in official circles or in the broadest public circles, thinks of associating the Palestinians' struggle for their national rights with terrorism. Only extreme right-wing Zionist circles in Israel, who have hitherto failed to comprehend the truth that there can be no security for Israel while the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are denied, today insist on ascribing terrorist aspirations to the Palestinians."

Then G. Gerasimov announced to correspondents that a certain citizen V.G. Shepilov, aged 60, had arrived in London. The fact of a private individual's arrival in the British capital from the USSR would not deserve a mention if it were not for the fact that a vociferous propaganda campaign was mounted in Britain and other Western countries for the departure of citizen Shepilov—convicted allegedly for his religious views—from the Soviet Union. A petition bearing 20,000 signatures was even produced! Taking into consideration the wishes of Shepilov himself and also the readiness of the British side to give the "martyr" permanent residence, the Soviet Union decided on his departure. So now he is in London. As Western official spokesmen could have seen for themselves, Shepilov was never involved in religious or peripheral church activity and was never ordained as a priest. On the other hand, it is clear that criminal proceedings were instituted against this man on several occasions for violations of passport regulations and for vagrancy.

Shepilov's story is indicative of the fact that certain Western circles are not averse to exploiting for political and propaganda purposes anyone convicted of unlawful actions with no concern for the authenticity of the information available to them.

Sychev Discusses CEMA-EEC Declaration

LD2206145488 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—"We're going to Luxembourg to sign a joint declaration on the establishment of formal relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the European Economic Community (EEC) and thus add one more brick to the edifice of our common European home," a CMEA secretary told TASS.

Vyacheslav Sychev tomorrow is leaving for Luxembourg where on June 25 he and Rudolf Rohlicek, chairman of the CMEA Executive Committee, will sign the declaration on behalf of CMEA.

"The statement in the joint declaration that it is based on the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe is not fortuitous," Sychev said.

"Conducting the difficult negotiations and taking steps to normalise relations between the two organisations, we were guided by the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Act and a desire to develop international economic cooperation which is a major factor in social progress.

"To work out the joint document and thus remove obstacles to normal relations between CMEA and EEC, both sides had to display goodwill and take into account the other partner's position, its interests and the realities that have shaped up, in other words, they required what is now often called as new thinking," Sychev said.

"We worked not only on the document but also on ways toward better mutual understanding and confidence, which are of paramount importance for the future.

"It is only now that opportunities are opening up for cooperation in areas that are in the sphere of responsibility of CMEA and EEC and are of mutual interest.

"We should back up the joint declaration with practical deeds for the benefit of all European countries," the CMEA secretary said.

ILO Session Completes Work in Geneva 22 Jun

LD2206182288 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Geneva June 22 TASS—A wide range of questions connected with the improvement of the social and legal position of the working people was discussed by delegates to the 75th session of the General Conference of the International Labour Organization that ended here today. During the general debate most of the speakers urged the governments of the ILO member countries to develop international cooperation in the area of the protection of the working people's rights, to wage the struggle more vigorously against unemployment and social injustice.

President of the Philippines Corazon Aquino who spoke as a guest of honour noted particularly the fact that systematic violations of human rights are connected above all with chronic lag characteristic of most developing countries.

Representatives of the USSR, Syria, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Malta, Ecuador and many other countries emphasized particularly that no one should forget the fundamental human right, the right to life, without which all other rights become meaningless.

The participants in the conference also discussed and endorse a special report of the director general on the implementation of the declaration on apartheid policies in the Republic of South Africa. Most delegates in their speeches sharply criticized the disgraceful policy of racial segregation that the racist Pretoria authorities conduct in southern Africa.

SWAPO President Sam Nujoma urged world public opinion, the International Labour Organization and other organizations of the United Nations to widen assistance to the Namibian people waging the struggle for independence and to native people of the Republic of South Africa waging the struggle against racism and apartheid.

The majority of delegates condemned Israel's gross and constant violations of the rights and trade union freedoms of Arab working people in occupied territories. But as a result of the obstructionist stand assumed by some Western countries, the conference has not adopted a resolution on the protection of the rights and freedoms of the working people and entrepreneurs in Palestine and in other occupied Arab territories and some other resolutions.

Matters of the financial state of ILO were discussed. ILO finances have been weakened by the fall of the dollar rate and the delay about the payment of contributions by some countries, above all the United States. The work to draft two new conventions on occupational hygiene and labour safety in construction and on employment and labour protection has been completed.

Academy Historian Views Idea of European Unity

PM2206142588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Doctor of Historical Sciences A.O. Chubaryan, member of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences General History Institute, by unidentified interviewer: "The European Idea: History and the Present"; date and place of interview not given—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The European idea, the concept of the "single European home," has been increasingly attracting the attention of politicians and journalists in East and West alike in the last few years. Interest in this problem is not a recent development: People have addressed the common fate of the peoples inhabiting our continent also in the past. IZVESTIYA publishes an interview with Doctor of Historical Sciences A.O. Chubaryan, member of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences General History Institute, and author of the recently published book "The European Idea in History" [Evropeyskaya Ideya v Istorii].

[IZVESTIYA] The European idea in history: Is it appropriate to speak of it at all, since Europe is heterogeneous and multifaceted?

[Chubaryan] Yes, I think so. Of course, states with different social and political systems have existed and still exist in Europe, peoples with their own historical experience live next to each other. Nevertheless, it is possible to speak of Europe as a geographical, cultural, and economic community. Another important aspect is the common fate since, as a rule, the major military-political shocks of recent centuries have shaken all countries in the continent. Hence the desire to give a meaning to Europe's unity and the plans to implement it in the international political sphere.

[IZVESTIYA] In the West, however, the European idea is often used to justify West European integration and is, in one way or another, aimed at separating the Soviet Union from Europe.

[Chubaryan] Yes, this trend does exist in the West. For decades it was suggested to West Europeans that Russia, and later the USSR, are formations alien to Europe, that they are part of Asia. In reality, however, it is impossible to imagine European culture without the Russian contribution; it is impossible to build modern Europe without the USSR. Although the question is not all that simple. The USSR is part of Europe, but not only of Europe. Our country, in terms of its geography and its historical traditions, participated in European building but, at the same time, was in a position to play the role of a bridge between Europe and Asia.

[IZVESTIYA] You write about the European idea. And yet Eurocentrism was rejected and condemned in our historical literature. Do you advocate its rehabilitation?

[Chubaryan] No. To prove the exclusiveness of Europe and the superiority of Europeans over the inhabitants of other continents is one thing. To perceive Europe's real and fitting position in the historical process and the modern world is something else. After all, it was on the European continent that the noble slogan of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" emerged; it was primarily on European soil that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism took shape. Marx and Engels constantly used European experience. And while we reject Eurocentrism, we must not support the scornfully destructive attitude toward Europe's history, traditions, and culture. It is necessary to resolutely oppose all other centrisms and the ideas of any racial, religious, or continental exclusiveness.

[IZVESTIYA] But we cannot forget that the European idea often provided ideological justification for attempts to unite the continent by force or to implement various plans of conquest and hegemony.

[Chubaryan] Of course, the European idea—like any other complex historical phenomenon—has had different aspects. Yes, there were aspirations to unite Europe on the reactionary basis of the Holy Alliance; yes, there were imperialist plans for a United States of Europe; yes, there were the European concepts of Italian fascism and the terrifying attempt to establish the Nazi "new order" on the continent. At the same time, however, there was parallel development of another, progressive and democratic stream of the European idea—comprising the enlightened projects of eternal peace, the concepts of democratic Europe's unity in the struggle against despotism, the struggle for freedom and brotherhood ("Young Europe"), and the slogan "Proletarians of all Countries, Unite!" which presupposes mainly the unity of Europe's oppressed working people.

[IZVESTIYA] All these progressive projects and concepts belonged to just a very narrow stratum of educated Europeans and did not reach the broad people's masses. Could it be that the European idea is elitist by nature?

[Chubaryan] Initially, and in its entire depth and breadth, no idea is accessible to all. In this context, it is perhaps worth drawing attention to two circumstances. First, increasingly broad democratic forces are now joining the process of European building. Second, and in addition to clearly formulated ideas and concepts at the mass awareness level, there is also the spontaneous and often diluted identification of "We are Europeans!" Unfortunately, the studies conducted by Soviet social scientists in historical psychology and processes in the sphere of awareness are totally inadequate for an investigation of the evolution of mass grassroots Europeanism. The introduction of "new thinking" in politics and history involves the overcoming of what I would describe as the nihilistic approach toward Europeanism, the attempts by a number of our specialists and theoreticians to classify Europeanism as a bourgeois invention opposed to the Marxist approach. And Western ideologists must abandon the interpretation of Europeanism in just its Western variety and the view of Russia and the USSR as alien and even hostile to Europe. I think that there have been increasingly noticeable positive changes in the recent past, and considerable credit for this is due to our European policy and the "European home" concept.

The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference correctly refer to this concept as one of the major topics which "have gripped the imagination of a troubled world."

[IZVESTIYA] Does this mean that the concept of the "pan-European home" is a transformation of the traditional European idea?

[Chubaryan] I think that it is more than a transformation: It is a new quality in a qualitatively different world. The Europeanism of the nuclear age is an awareness of the objective requirement and need to safeguard peace and ensure Europe's security, to protect our "European home" against nuclear catastrophe. But this is not all. The building of the "pan-European home" presupposes the solution of a whole package of military, political, economic, and humanitarian problems on the basis of growing interdependence between states with different socioeconomic systems. But even this is not enough. There is a need to search for joint common approaches toward the solution of the global problems of our time—the ecological, energy, food, and other problems. This requires a substantial change in the political and psychological climate in the European continent. What I have in mind is the rejection of negative stereotypes, of the mythology and rhetoric of the "cold war," of prejudices and mistrust of one another. The implanting of positive images and ideas about the other side in mass awareness is an important precondition for the affirmation of new thinking and the elaboration of new approaches toward the pan-European process.

In today's conditions, attitudes toward the pan-European experience are highly important for the solution of topical problems. During the news conference on the results of the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Moscow, M.S. Gorbachev noted "that without Europe, which has unique historical, intellectual, diplomatic, and political experience, without the European contribution," it is impossible to successfully solve international problems. It is necessary to address Europe's history and the experience of Europeanism also if the concept of the pan-European home is to succeed.

[IZVESTIYA] We are talking about a "pan-European home," but could not the question of a "pan-Asian" or a "pan-African home" be posed in exactly the same way?

[Chubaryan] Probably yes, in the long term. It is a different matter whether the necessary preconditions and conditions for it exist at present. In any case, Europe differs from Asia and Africa in the intensity of mutual ties between its component states and in the existence of a historically formed cultural and religious community which makes it possible to speak of a single European civilization.

[IZVESTIYA] Even so, does this not contain a certain element of European separatism, a separation and distancing of Europe from the rest of the world?

[Chubaryan] You see, the "pan-European home" is not a fortress fenced off from the rest of the world. Europe does not develop in isolation. Its development is part of the world historical process. Europe influences other continents, and at the same time experiences the influence of events taking place in Asia, Africa, and America. This is why the "pan-European home" will be welcomed if it becomes an organic part of a harmonious architecture of the world, of a new, secure, and nuclear-free world.

European Security Committee Official Interviewed

LD2206220888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jun (TASS)—When it is a matter of ridding Europe of the threat of nuclear war, there can be no outsiders or uninvolved people. It is a matter for all states and every parliament, political party, or public organization, says Yevgeniy Silin, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security.

In the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference that opens on 28 June, the construction of the "pan-European" home is listed among the main ideas engendered by the new political thinking, he said in an interview with TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev. This confirms the Soviet Union's deep adherence to a course of ensuring security and stability in the continent. We invite everyone, without imposing on anyone any conditions and dogmas, to a joint consideration and search for ways of reaching this goal with account being taken of our national interests as well as mankind's common interests.

The process of broadening the circle of our partners in dialogue is now under way within the framework of restructuring the work of the Soviet Committee for European Security. Contacts have been established with representatives of public and political forces having a real influence on the policy of the countries engaged in the Helsinki process—social democrats, Christian democrats, liberals, centrists, and conservatives and their parties in national parliaments and also in the European Parliament and the assemblies of the WEU and NATO.

A frank discussion of issues such as the military doctrines of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and overcoming the "enemy image" and other measures of trust will help the elaboration on a pluralist basis of concrete approaches to the construction of our common home of Europe, Yevgeniy Silin emphasized.

United States & Canada

Canadian Diplomats in Moscow Asked To Leave

LD2206210588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2012 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jun (TASS)—On 22 June USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh handed over to Vernon George Turner, the Canadian ambassador to the USSR, a memorandum in connection with the crude hostile action undertaken by the Canadian authorities against a number of employees of Soviet establishments in Ottawa and Montreal. This action has been termed a major provocation pursuing a single aim—to poison the atmosphere of Soviet-Canadian relations and to inflict damage on them. To judge from everything, these actions by the Canadian side were planned earlier and were timed to coincide with a moment when the prospect has really taken shape for a positive turn in East-West relations.

The accusations leveled against the Soviet representatives are unfounded and are resolutely rejected by the Soviet side.

The memorandum says that, obviously contradicting its repeated official statements, including at a high governmental level, about Canada's striving for developing constructive relations with the Soviet Union based on cooperation, the Canadian side has fallen under the influence of those forces that are opposing this in all possible ways in trying to undermine confidence in the USSR.

Making the most resolute protest in connection with this provocative action, the Soviet side puts the entire responsibility for its consequences on the Canadian side.

The memorandum notes that it has been indicated more than once to the Canadian side that its representatives in the USSR engage in activity that is absolutely unacceptable. There is irrefutable information showing that the activity in the Soviet Union of Naval Attache Raymond Steele and Evelyn Puxley, embassy second secretary, is incompatible with their official status. In the situation that has come about the Soviet side has demanded that they should leave the USSR within 3 days.

In addition, Canadian representatives previously in the USSR—Anne Leahy [name as received], embassy first secretary; John Di Gangi, embassy second secretary; and Kenneth Moody [name as received], embassy Air Force attache, have also been declared persona non grata, and will no longer be permitted to enter the Soviet Union.

The Soviet side counts on the Canadian side to demonstrate a sense of responsibility and realism, and to refrain from further attampts to hinder the normal functioning of Soviet missions in Canada. If, however, in spite of this warning, the Canadian side embarks upon further exacerbating the situation, it should expect additional retaliatory measures without delay from the Soviet side.

The ambassador said that the contents of the memorandum would be conveyed by him to Ottawa without delay.

Solovyev, U.S. Businessman Discuss Relations

PM2306104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] Leningrad, 21 Jun—Yu.F. Solovyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom, has received Cyrus Eaton Jr, president of Cyrus Eaton World Trade Limited, who is here at the invitation of the Leningrad Gorispolkom. Welcoming the guest, Yu.F. Solovyev noted that his arrival in Leningrad has coincided with an exceptionally interesting period in the USSR's life. Large changes are taking place in Soviet society. Favorable trends for expanding ties between the two countries are taking shape, and it is essential to do everything to ensure that this fruitful process develops even further.

C. Eaton spoke about the possibility of setting up a large cultural and tourist center in Leningrad, the aim of which would be to propagate ideas of peace and friendship among the peoples and ideas of environmental safety, mutually beneficial economic cooperation, and collaboration in the sphere of medicine, sports, physical training, art, and architecture.

Yu.F. Solovyev described the proposals as interesting. They will be carefully studied.

U.S. 'Scandal' Over Pentagon Contractors Grows

LD2306031088 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Washington June 22 TASS—U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci issued an order to move to other posts five Pentagon staffers who are under suspicion in connection with the scandal involving illegal transactions and financial abuse by major contractors of the Department of Defence. Among the [word indistinct] are deputy assistant secretary of the Navy for acquisition James Gaines and assistant to the under secretary of the Air Force, Victor Cohen. It is also reported that Carlucci studies the question of the possibility of terminating the deals with the Pentagon contractors who became the target of the FBI investigation into a case of swindle and bribes.

The scandal over contracts of the Department of Defence has actually become the main theme of President Reagan's press conference in Toronto devoted to the conclusion of the meeting of the leaders of the seven major capitalist countries. "Do you share any responsibility for that, Mr President?", was the first question put to the head of the U.S. Administration. "Well, I think all of us are disappointed and upset that such a thing could happen," President Reagan answered. But in the same breath he tried to play down the scopes of the scandal and to protect former U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger during whose office the corruption in the Pentagon assumed such a broad scope. "You can't be down there watching several million people every day and what they're doing and what phone calls they're making," the President said.

Reagan also asserted that he had not been informed of the fact that an investigation into briefs in the Department of Defence had been conducted over two years. He is of the opinion that the explanation is that the participants in the investigation had no notion as to how far the scandal will go. Government officials, Pentagon contractors, private consultants and U.S. congressmen have been involved in that scandal.

Meanwhile ever more facts of the involvement of high-ranking officials of the Department of Defence in shady transactions come to light. According to the ASSOCIATED PRESS, the investigation has at its disposal 4,764 tape record [word indistinct] telephone conversations, many of which are incriminating documents. A well-informed Pentagon official said that one of these tape recordings is that of a conversation between former Navy Secretary John Lehman and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Melvin Paisley. The ASSOCIATED PRESS notes that the exposure of the Pentagon's machinations followed the revelation of the Irancontra affair, the investigation into the case of U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese suspect [as received] of illegal activity and other scandals that shake official Washington.

U.S. Submitting to 'Right-Wing' on Afghanistan

LD2306040488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Washington, 21 Jun (TASS)—TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports:

Influential forces inside the U.S. Administration, together with CIA-financed right-wing "public" organizations, are stepping up their campaign to frustrate the Geneva agreements on a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

The main aim of the campaign is to see that, despite the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which has started, the United States continues with its widespread arms deliveries to the opposition's combat formations and, together with Pakistan, assists the creation of a so-called "representative government" in that country from the ringleaders of Islamic fundamentalist groupings.

The administration is clearly giving in to this pressure. The most recent evidence of this is an interview given by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Williamson, who has been given the task of coordinating the policy of various U.S. departments in relation to Afghanistan. The interview was given to the right-wing THE WASHINGTON POST. Although the United States itself maintains diplomatic relations with the country and is a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, Williamson grossly attacked the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, calling it "illegitimate."

The assistant secretary of state said that the United States "will fulfill its obligations to the region." However, of what concrete obligations is he speaking? Judging by articles in the U.S. press there are sharp differences within the administration on this score. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, a number of figures in the administration believe that under present circumstances the United States should display caution in its policy regarding Afghanistan. "Some," the newspaper says, "believe that the United States could become bogged down in politicking inside the alliance" of the opposition groupings, while others are asking whether it is in the interests of the United States to attempt to promote the creation of yet another Islamic fundamentalist regime, this time in Afghanistan, for which Pakistan is striving.

For these reasons, THE WASHINGTON POST notes, there is no unity in the administration even on an issue such as the proposal of the Senate leadership within the U.S. Congress that the post of U.S. "special ambassador" be established for direct links with the leaders of opposition groupings in Afghanistan. There is an aggravation, too, of problems stemming from the existence of the "strategic alliance" between the United States and Pakistan, the main channel for U.S. interference in Afghanistan's affairs. Many in the U.S. capital, including in Congress, believe that the disbandment by Ziaul Haq, the head of the Pakistan regime, of the ministerial cabinet and Pakistan's legislative assembly, as well as the work that is being continued in the country to make nuclear weapons "from materials secretly obtained in the United States" despite assurances of a lack of intention to provide itself with its own nuclear weapons, "confront the administration with fresh problems." In the U.S. capital, THE WASHINGTON POST says, there is an increasing realization that "the goals being pursued by Ziaul Haq in both Afghanistan and Pakistan itself may diverge from Washington's interests."

China

Gromyko Welcomes Chinese Youth Delegation

PM2206093188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting in the Kremlin With PRC Youth"]

[Text] "We finally found the right way to build socialism in China at the 3d Plenum of the CPC Central Committee 11th Convocation, in December 1978. Working on the basis of its decisions, young Chinese people are strengthening friendly ties with all young people in the world for the sake of peace, good-neighborliness, and prosperity in all countries." These thoughts were expressed by Liu Yandong, member of the PRC National People's Congress Standing Committee and chairman of the All-China Youth Federation, at the start of a conversation with A.A. Gromyko. She is head of a delegation from this federation, which is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations.

A.A. Gromyko received this representative of the PRC's supreme legislative body in the Kremlin on 17 June and had a conversation with her which proceeded in an atmosphere characteristic of the increasingly actively developing relations between our two countries.

The guest talked about how the delegation had already visited Leningrad and the Georgian SSR and come away from its meetings with Soviet people, particularly young people, with the most enthusiastic impressions. Young Chinese people admire the real work done in restructuring, with which they have now been acquainted. Their visit is making it possible to better understand the nature of the far-reaching changes taking place in the USSR and feel Soviet people's sincere friendliness and their great, kindly interest in People's China. The aim of the delegation's visit is to strengthen friendly ties with young Soviet people and, where possible, adopt restructuring experience that could be applied in Chinese conditions. This is all the more important in view of the fact that China is very interested in restructuring in the Soviet Union. The newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, for example, recently published the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

At the request of the Chinese side A.A. Gromyko talked about the progress made with restructuring, its prospects, and preparations for the 19th all-union party conference. He responded approvingly to the Chinese delegation's efforts to adopt useful experience. He noted at the same time, however, that the exchange of experience certainly does not signify one side imposing its model on the other side. Each side takes what it finds useful from the experience of others. This is precisely how the Soviet Union conducts its affairs in Europe with neighboring socialist countries.

Turning to the problems of restructuring, A.A. Gromyko said that the Soviet Union has entered a revolutionary period of development, considering the enormous tasks it will have to solve. This period is called restructuring. It must be understood in the profound sense of the word, as fundamental change in industry, agriculture, and the social and spiritual spheres. We are also talking about transforming the way people actually think. Our Communist Party has set the task of making people's lives better and richer materially and spiritually. We are confident that we will fulfill this task. Foreign conjecture expressed in the question "but will the Soviet Union not abandon socialism?" makes Soviet people smile. Our answer to this is that everything we are accomplishing is being done precisely in order to make fuller use of socialist potential.

Definite success has already been attained in the economy on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements. Important decisions have been made on reforming the education system. We are witnessing more rapid growth in housing construction, so that every family can be provided with a separate apartment or house by the end of the century. Important laws have been passed—on the state enterprise, on cooperatives, and on individual labor activity.

However, a great deal of work still lies ahead. A great deal has been done, but even more has still to be done in the sphere of medical services and the provision of food and consumer goods.

A.A. Gromyko expressed appreciation for the fact that M.S. Gorbachev's book "Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and the Entire World" has been published in the PRC. The Soviet leadership values this.

The upcoming 19th all-union party conference will sum up the results of the past period in the activity of the party and the people connected with restructuring. The theses for the conference are being broadly discussed in our country. There is no doubt that the conference itself and its decisions will be a landmark in the history of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

A.A. Gromyko and Liu Yandong were unanimous in the opinion that, despite certain differences caused by each country's particular features, the transformations being made in the Soviet Union and the PRC have something in common: They aim to strengthen socialism.

The Soviet side talked about how the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow went, how the USSR is struggling to eliminate nuclear weapons, and how solutions to regional conflicts are being sought through political channels—an example being the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

A.A. Gromyko spoke decisively in favor of developing Soviet-Chinese ties in the political and economic spheres as well as contacts between social organizations, including the Komsomol and youth organizations.

"A representative of the Komsomol Central Committee is present here," A.A. Gromyko said. "We are in favor of this organization's galvanizing its own Soviet-Chinese ties."

Developing contacts between the two countries' young people, he emphasized, creates a good basis for strengthening trust and mutual understanding between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

Liu Yandong conveyed warm greetings to the Soviet people and Soviet youth on behalf of the 330 million young Chinese men and women.

On behalf of the entire Soviet leadership, A.A. Gromyko expressed good wishes to Comrade Wan Li, chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, and the Chinese people.

Taking part in the conversation were N.I. Kurzanova, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; S.N. Chelnokov, chairman of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations; Li Gang, deputy general secretary of the All-China Youth Federation; and Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Youth Leader Interviewed

OW2006014288 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Excerpts] At the invitation of the Committee of the USSR Youth Organizations, a delegation from the All-China Youth Federation is visiting the Soviet Union. This is the first time a Chinese youth delegation has visited our country in the last 25 years. [passage omitted]

The Chinese guests held substantial talks with Soviet young people at the Committee of the USSR Youth Organizations in Moscow. Following the talks, a reporter of this station asked Liu Yandong, president of the All-China Youth Federation, to answer several questions.

On the purpose of the delegation's visit, she said: Our delegation from the All-China Youth Federation is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Committee of the USSR Youth Organizations. The purpose of our visit is to promote mutual understanding and friendship between Chinese and Soviet youth and youth organizations. Today, we held friendly talks on the further consolidation and development of friendship between the youth of our two countries. I think that these talks were successful. [passage omitted] Strengthening youth friendship between the two countries is conducive not only to developing our respective countries but to safeguarding world peace. Therefore, we are willing to consolidate and develop our friendly relations on the basis of a good beginning. [passage omitted]

On the ongoing reforms in our country, the head of the All-China Youth Federation delegation said: I believe that reform is a trend in socialist countries. Both China and the Soviet Union are currently carrying out reforms. Since the conditions of the two countries are different, their specific reform measures may also be different. However, problems they have encountered in many fields are very similar. Chinese young people are following with the greatest interest and enthusiasm the reforms going on in the Soviet Union. Chinese young people appreciate some Soviet reform measures. We hold that, although the conditions in our two countries are different, we can engage in exchange with, and draw on the experiences of, each other in some fields. So, we sincerely hope that the Soviet Union will succeed in its reforms.

Northeast Asia

New Mongolian Foreign Minister Appointed

LD2306082688 Moscow TASS in English 0756 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Ulaanbaatar June 23 TASS—By a decree of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Tserenpilyn Gombosuren has been appointed Mongolia's minister of foreign affairs.

Tserenpilyn Gombosuren was born in 1943 into the family of a stock farmer. He graduated from a polygraphic institute in the Soviet Union. He has been in the diplomatic service since 1976. From 1987 he was deputy head of the International Relations Department of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee.

Japan's Stand on U.S. Nuclear Arms Criticized

OW2206154188 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] As reported earlier by KYODO, a leading U.S. scholar recently spoke during a public hearing at the Japanese House of Representatives about the possible consequences of a nuclear accident if a U.S. warship berthed in the Yokosuka Base.

In this regard, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev has the following comments:

According to Prof Jackson Davis of the University of California, 70,000 Japanese would be killed by the explosion of a single nuclear warhead. Most probably, he is right. The professor has in the past held prominent advisory roles in numerous nuclear-related matters, including the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This time, at the request of a civic group in Japan and in cooperation with a group of experts, he conducted studies on the effects of a nuclear accident in the ports of Yokosuka, Sasebo, and Kure.

Previously, similar studies had been performed for the cities of San Francisco, Sydney, and Copenhagen.

At the House of Representatives, Prof Davis said that very great possibilities exist of the wind carrying the radioactive cloud toward the heart of Tokyo. The large number of cooling systems in homes, hospitals, schools, and other buildings will suck in radioactive particles. The immediate evacuation of residents will become necessary, but this will be practically impossible under the conditions given to Tokyo, and it will take $150 billion to clear up the radioactive fallout, he added.

Fortunately, this is a hypothesis. But behind this hypothesis meticulous scientific analysis has been conducted and no small amount of experiences applied.

Prof Davis said that there have already been radioactive accidents, but the U.S. military authorities have not permitted thorough investigations of them. Such accidents should not be hushed up, and they can happen again in the future, he asserted.

The international anti-war group Nautilus Pacific Research in late May made public some data of the Pentagon—the U.S. Defense Department—relating to them. From the data, it was revealed that the U.S. naval command has nine special units assigned in Japan to deal with nuclear accidents. But it is clear that such units can be of almost no use in case of an accident over the Kanto area with such a dense population.

At the House of Representatives, Prof Davis called on the Japanese Government and people to compare the merits they get from the calls of nuclear-armed warships on their ports with the dangers these can bring to them. But the problem is that the Japanese Government is expecting the U.S. naval command to notify it in advance—pursuant to provisions of the Japan-U.S. security treaty—when a warship carrying nuclear arms enters Japan.

Prof Davis expressed apprehension regarding whether the United States will observe Article 6 of the security pact, which provides for obligations to serve advance notification, and noted that the U.S. policy of neither acknowledging nor denying whether ships carry nuclear arms runs counter to Japan's diplomatic stand.

So far there has been much evidence of the United States making bad use of Japan's trust in the United States regarding nuclear arms. No doubt it is desirable that a nation's policies be formulated based not on trust alone but on actual facts.

At the recent UN special session on disarmament, the Soviet Union expressed willingness to disclose nuclear operations of warships if the United States can agree to do the same.

On the other hand, it has been learned that the Japanese Defense Agency last month urged the Pentagon not to take up the U.S. nuclear policy at the USSR-U.S. summit in Moscow. This has been reported by JIJI quoting a source in London. From this it has become clear that the Japanese Government wants not only to continue the present ambiguous position but actually to fortify it.

Viewed at this angle, it may be said that Prof Davis' grave warning is reasonable.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Army Official Predicts Prolonged War

PM2306093988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 88 p 3

[Own correspondent M. Kozhukhov "Afghan Reportage": "Patent Lie About 'Secret' Advisors"]

[Text] Kabul—How's life in Jalalabad? It seems as though everyone is asking this question today in Afghanistan. Among the delegates to the National Council session, which is now discussing the content and program of the new cabinet of ministers. And on the street, in the endless lines of trading stalls without which Kabul would not be Kabul. You only have to turn the radio dial—the same question is being asked on the air.... Over a month has passed since Soviet forces left Nangarhar Province, adjacent to the Pakistan border. Our civil specialists working there also left Jalalabad, the provincial center.

True, AFP claims that the Russians have "secretly" left 1,000 military advisers in Nangarhar Province! Although if you were to listen to AFP, your blood would run cold: "The opposition forces are fighting for Ghazni.... The mujahidin destroyed three armored carriers. In retaliation the Soviets hit two civilian buses."

"All lies," Colonel Qadir, chief of the duty operational group at the Republic's Defense Ministry, comments briefly on this information. We sat with him in the Afghan Army Combat Control Center—a small place with an entire battery of telephones and battle maps on polished tables. A limited number of people from the Armed Forces' high command have right of entry here: An exception was made for your correspondent. All operational information on the military situation in Afghanistan, information on combat operations, forward movement of convoys—everything that could in some way or other influence the fragile balance of war and peace—is gathered here in the center.

"The situation in Jalalabad and in Nangarhar Province as a whole after the Soviet forces' withdrawal is fine," Colonel Qadir says. "Subunits of the 11th Infantry Division and the 1st Border Brigade control a significant portion of the province and are carrying out local operations. Unfortunately, insurgent activity has not diminished significantly."

What does the colonel think about the recent radio interview with G. Hikmatyar, leader of the most extreme wing of the Afghan opposition? According to Hikmatyar, a joint session of the counterrevolutionary "Alliance" leaders decided to conduct a large-scale operation to seize a strategically important city in the southeast of the country and to set up an Islamic government there. And although it is not known what city is being talked about, the insurgents' intrigues could be targeted on Jalalabad.

Information from there confirms that forces and equipment are being mustered in the province. Prominent representatives of the opposition parties have visited the regions bordering Pakistan, and significant sums of money are being paid to members of armed detachments.

The situation is being complicated even more by the fact that Pakistan is continuing openly to violate the Geneva agreements: Weapons and combat ammunition are pouring out of the country, and convoys of hundreds of trucks cross the border almost every day. The Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent around two dozen official protest notes, citing these and many other facts, to the UN military observers group, but the situation has not changed.... Rumors are rife that the insurgents are just waiting for the final withdrawal of troops to inflict a retaliatory strike.

"They will not dare to do that," Colonel Qadir is convinced. "Our units are combat-ready, excellently equipped, and able to repulse them. The insurgents can bomb our outposts, seize a village or even a region, but they are incapable of capturing the entire Nangarhar Province.

General Ghafar, deputy chief of the Afghan Army General Staff, agrees with this view. But the general, facing up to the truth, does not promise a speedy peace in the country.

"Unfortunately, the war is going to go on for several decades," he believes. "Now even the most ignorant peasant will surely understand that the Soviet forces' presence was only the opposition's excuse for war. Now that the Soviets have left, what now? Now war again. They want power, all the power! And they will continue the bloodshed as long as we go on ruminating from rostrums about 'how to eradicate factional struggle in the party' and 'How to end desertion' and until we understand the simple truth. When we have a strong party and a strong army, then there will be dialogue and coalition!..."

Indeed, the relative stability in those Afghan provinces from which the Soviet forces have already withdrawn is of itself hardly a basis for cheerful forecasts. There are still too many unknown quantities in the complex military political equation which present-day Afghanistan is trying to solve. But the gloomy prophesies that everything would go haywire as soon as the Soviets left were not justified! Even the fears for the security of the strategically important road which the insurgents are supposed to control have turned out to be unfounded, it would appear... My friend Ibrahim, a nice sixth grader who with his brothers has a fruit and vegetable stall not far from the correspondents' office, displays peaches which are already red, sweet cherries, and sugar melons. And even Pakistani mangoes. The wholesale traders import all this very quietly to the capital along the same road. From there, from Jalalabad.

Pakistan Continues Arms Shipments to Afghanistan

LD2206172888 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 22 TASS—The Pakistani military administration does not intend to observe the spirit and the letter of the Geneva accords signed by representatives of the civilian government that has been deposed by Ziaul Haq. Only this conclusion can be drawn from the actions of the authorities of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan who encourage large-scale transportation of all kinds of armaments by units of the extremists into Afghanistan and directly participate in armaments transportation.

According to reports reaching here, a Pakistani Army transport on a permanent basis carries at night time ammunition and weapons from the depots of the 12th Corps of the Pakistani Armed Forces to the transshipment base Tuba some 25 km east of Chaman. Then these supplies are taken to the bases of anti-government groups in the Afghan provinces of Qandahar, Helmand and Ghowr, and the emphasis is made on the supply of heavy arms. For instance, cross-country jeeps with large-calibre machine guns are being delivered. More than 500 such vehicles have been accumulated in Baluchistan's centre Quetta and are ready for shipment. To render assistance to commandos of the "Peshawar Seven" two Pakistani infantry battalions have been concentrated on the border with Afghanistan close to the area of combat operations conducted in Spin Baldak. They also have police functions to check desertion.

300 persons equipped with fire arms have been brought into Badakhshan from Pakistan via Nuristan, Kunar Province. They concentrate in Archa. Hikmatyar's "Islamic Party" intends to send over a hundred of cutthroats into the Zardiv Valley in the days ahead to reinforce the groups operating there. Armed units of "Afghanistan's Islamic Society" intensify the activities in Badakhshan. 12 units consisting of 100 men each are being brought from Chitral, the North West Frontier Province, into Badakhshan to reinforce units of the "Islamic Party". The Pakistani authorities assist these operations. A unit consisting of 200 men was sent to Chitral to get mobile anti-aircraft complexes from bases and deliver them into Badakhshan.

A 3,000-strong "volunteer corps" of extremists is being formed of frontier guard units on a direct order from of the Pakistani Administration in the territory of that country.

Afghan News Briefing 22 Jun

LD2206170488 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 22 Jun 88

["Pakistan Breaches Accords—Kabul News Conference"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kabul June 22 TASS—The Pakistani side does not comply with any of the documents from the package signed in Geneva, said speakers at a news conference held at the Afghan Foreign Ministry today.

Units of extremists and caravans with weapons continued to cross the border from Pakistan to Afghanistan, said the head of the Afghan Foreign Ministry's Office for Liaison with the U.N. Observers' Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan, 'A.J. Jawshan.

Military camps were still operating in the regions bordering on Afghanistan, various obstacles were being put up in the way of the return of Afghan refugees, he pointed out.

The Pakistani mass media were conducting active anti-Afghan propaganda. Often, officials made hostile statements with regard to the Republic of Afghanistan. Weapons for anti-government groups were being sent from the depots located along the Afghan border.

Over 400 cases of premeditated violation of the Geneva accords had been recorded, the newsmen were told. U.N. observers were notified about the majority of these cases through memorandums sent by the Afghan Foreign Ministry.

K. Janbaz, head of the Foreign Relations Department at Afghanistan's Defence Ministry, told the news conference that the recent developments in Spin Buldak District were a graphic example of Pakistan's continued interference. Populated localities in the district had for long been subjected to bombardment by Pakistani batteries situated in Chaman near the border with Afghanistan.

Dozens of civilians, including children, were killed in the shelling. Foreign instructors were on the extremist groups operating in Spin Buldak.

The Islamabad authorities, it was said, acted contrary to the will of their own people. Many political and public circles in Pakistan opposed the actions of the regime which openly breached the Geneva agreements. The policy of the Pakistani authorities was ultimately directed against the interests of peace and stability in the region and the world on the whole.

Soviet Red Cross Briefs Press on POW's

LD2106172688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] The Soviet Red Cross and other organizations currently receive numerous letters from Soviet citizens and from abroad, asking that everything possible should be done to save the lives of Soviet servicemen held captive by the Afghan armed opposition. Comrade Venediktov, chairman of the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Society, spoke on this issue at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists held at the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow today. He said, in particular:

[Begin Venediktov recording] National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies exist within the framework of the international movement, as is known. The League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies exists, as does the International Red Cross Committee, with its headquarters in Switzerland. It is that committee's mandate to assist in the release of POW's and exchanges of POW's, and of wounded and sick servicemen from various groupings. With the aid of the International Red Cross Committee, which has its own representatives in Afghanistan, in Kabul, and similar branches on Pakistan's territory, in Peshawar, which maintain contacts with the representatives of the armed opposition, 11 Soviet servicemen, of whom 8 returned home following a 2-year internment in Switzerland, have been released from captivity over the past few years through talks that have been held.

Unfortunately, in recent years, the efforts of the International Red Cross Committee to determine the fate of the remaining soldiers—more than 300 of them—have failed to yield any tangible results. This is because the representatives of the armed opposition have not publicized the locations where these servicemen are to be found, how many there are, or their names, although they have not denied the fact that a certain number of persons have fallen into captivity.

Following the signing of the Geneva accords on a settlement around Afghanistan, these talks have gathered momentum now and are proceeding literally without respite. The Soviet Red Cross is in constant touch with the International Committee. I would, however, wish to emphasize that these talks are conducted strictly on the basis of trust. That is why it is not deemed possible to make significant public comment or appraisals of what is taking place or what accords have been reached. One can, however, judge from the reports of Western and other media that certain shifts are taking place in the position of the armed opposition. The dates of and conditions for their release and the nature of their release and so forth are now beginning to be talked about.

We will not conceal the fact that we are very concerned about the reports that the Geneva conventions have been violated and that the prisoners have been treated in an inhuman way, and of other related difficulties. [Moscow TASS in English at 1448 GMT on 21 June, in a report on Venediktov's briefing, adds the following in its account: "Yet, Dmitriy Venediktov stressed, we are seriously concerned about the reports on the violations of the Geneva Convention, on the inhuman treatment of the Soviet POW's, which means, in translation from the official language, torture and maltreatment."] We have at our disposal a complete list of all persons who are registered as lost without trace and we are taking all measures to determine the fate of each one of them. Each has family and friends waiting for them at home.

We would again like to ask that the international community, too, facilitate a resolution of this problem. [The Moscow TASS English version adds the following: "He requested representatives of the mass media, including of the Western countries, who were in contact with the Soviet POW's in captivity, to report their destiny and whereabouts to the Soviet Red Cross or the International Red Cross in Geneva.

"We have a full list of all persons reported missing and are taking all measures to find out the destiny of every one of them. Their families, near and dear are looking forward to their return home, Dmitriy Venediktov said."]

It is known that a public committee has been set up in the United States to assist in the release of Soviet servicemen taken prisoner in Afghanistan. We hope that initiatives such as this will also turn out to be useful. [end recording]

Pakistani Envoy Interviewed on POW Issue

PM2206131188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Shahid M. Amin, Pakistani ambassador to the USSR, by Yu. Kornilov in Moscow on 20 June: "Missing.... A Few Questions to the Pakistani Ambassador to Moscow"—first three paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] "Missing...." The staff teletype machines of our troops in Afghanistan printed out these dry lines 311 times. We now know that some of those in question died in the fighting, but many are alive—by virtue of various circumstances they were captured by the armed Afghan opposition. It is impossible to speak of the fate of these people without alarm and pain.

Shahid M. Amin, Pakistani ambassador to Moscow, was recently invited to the USSR Foreign Ministry, where the USSR's stand on this question of concern to all Soviet people was once again clearly expounded to him.

What is the Pakistani Administration's response to these appeals and demands? Our conversation with Shahid M. Amin began with this question yesterday.

[Amin] The Pakistani Government, guided by humane considerations, devotes very great attention to the question of the Soviet prisoners' release and return home. I can assure you that Islamabad will continue to do everything possible to resolve this problem. Several men have already returned....

[Kornilov] Yes, several Soviet people have been released, and the Pakistani side's actions in this sphere have received a proper assessment from the Soviet public. But what is the difficulty over the release of the rest?

[Amin] It is necessary, first of all, to ascertain the exact number of them and where they are. The notion exists in the Soviet Union that many of them, almost the majority, are on Pakistani territory....

[Kornilov] But the facts attest to this. At a recent press conference held in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's editorial office with the participation of five former Soviet prisoners, two of them—A. Zhurayev and M. Yazkuliyev—reported that they had escaped from captivity by fleeing from guards in Islamabad and making their way to the USSR Embassy. Do these testimonies not show that the extremists keep their prisoners, or at least some of them, on Pakistani territory and, what is more, in the country's capital—you could say, close by the Pakistani authorities?

[Amin] Yes, some prisoners really do end up on our territory, and the Pakistani authorities, if they learn of such facts, seek to give these people assistance and put them in contact with the Soviet Embassy—this confirms once again our policy of resolving the problem. But it is necessary, I repeat, to ascertain precisely the overall picture. For, according to reports, some prisoners are held on Afghan territory, and some of those missing may also be in other countries....

[Kornilov] By all accounts, some Soviet servicemen really are being held on Afghan territory—Hikmatyar, one of the leaders of the armed opposition, recently told Western journalists this in Peshawar. On 27 May, when a Soviet Peace Defense Committee delegation headed by the writer A. Ananyev visited the embassy, you, Mr Ambassador, gave an assurance that the Pakistani Government would endeavor to inform the armed opposition operating in Afghanistan of its opinion on the need to release Soviet prisoners of war as an act of goodwill. Has that promise been carried out?

[Amin] Yes. I can tell you that great work is now being done to convince the mujahidin that they must release the Soviet people taken prisoner by them and help them to return home. It is too early to speak of the mujahidin position, but I hope and believe that a successful solution to the problem will be found....

[Kornilov] Can Islamabad help representatives of the International Red Cross, say, to make direct contact with prisoners and meet with them at the first stage, while the problem is being resolved?

[Amin] As far as I know, representatives of the International Red Cross already have certain contacts with the mujahidin....

[Kornilov] What was Pakistan's response to the appeal of the Peace, Friendship, and Solidarity Organization [PFSO] of the Republic of Afghanistan, in which the PFSO voiced the opinion of the Afghan people and called on Pakistan's peace-loving forces to influence the Government with a view to the Soviet servicemen's release and demanded that their treatment meet the norms of international law? What is the role that the Pakistani public plays and could play in the release of Soviet servicemen?

[Amin] The public of our country is in favor of ending the Afghan tragedy on the basis of the Geneva agreements and wants Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Soviet Union to live in peace and concord. And, of course, our public wants all Soviet prisoners to return home. People in Pakistan well understand the present feelings of the relatives and friends of the Soviet servicemen missing or captured. The situation is complex, but I repeat that I believe in a good outcome....

[Kornilov] Is there an incessant stream of letters and appeals to the embassy concerning the fate of the Soviet prisoners?

[Amin] Yes. In a few days' time, for example, I am to meet with a group of Soviet war and labor veterans. I will tell them what I have told you: The Pakistani Government, guided by humane considerations and viewing the resolution of this problem as part of the program for improving Pakistani-Soviet relations, will try to ensure that all Soviet people in captivity are released and return to the motherland. And the substance of the veterans' appeal will, of course, be forwarded to Islamabad without delay.... [Amin ends]

...We took our leave of the Pakistani ambassador. The impression formed from the conversation with him is that there is definite movement toward resolving the problem. But time waits for no man, and it is the duty of the Soviet and the international public to redouble and treble the efforts aimed at wresting all Soviet people from the hands of extremists in the name of the ideals of humanism and mercy! As for the leaders of Pakistan, by taking immediate measures for the release and return home of the Soviet servicemen, they would be taking a concrete step confirming the assurances of their intention to implement the Geneva agreements aimed at eliminating one of the most protracted and painful regional conflicts on the planet.

Experiences of POW in Afghanistan Described

PM2106102388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jun 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Major N. Burbyga: "'I Was Looking for a Way to My Own People'"—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] The fate of Soviet soldiers missing in action in Afghanistan concerns every Soviet person. The editorial office is receiving letters in which readers ask us to tell them what specifically is being done to free our soldiers and who specifically is dealing with this. Our special correspondent has just returned from Afghanistan. He met with the relevant people there. We publish his article below:

The stream was shallow, and its stony bottom was visible through the clear water. Bending over, Yankovskiy hurriedly took a few thirsty gulps. Then, unfastening his water bottle from his belt, he started to fill it, watching the bubbling water quickly flow into its narrow opening. It didn't matter, he thought, that he was lagging behind. They could not have gone far, he would catch up with them in an instant.

When he had filled the water bottle, he plunged his face in the turbulent current just once more. Leaning on his arms, he began to get up—but never made it. A sharp blow to the head sent him tumbling back down into the water. He regained consciousness only to find himself being quickly dragged across the river, toward reeds visible on the bank. The thought flashed through his head: I have been captured. And in such a stupid way.

Now, besides the pain of the sudden blow, he felt angry with himself—why did I lag behind, couldn't I have been patient or asked one of the guys for their bottle....

When they had crossed the stream and were concealed in the thick reeds, there was a clamor from the other side, from the place where just a few minutes ago he had been drinking water so serenely. Obviously, the guys were looking for him. He wanted to shout, give the alarm, but his mouth was gagged. He groaned in agony.

The momentary confusion of his kidnappers brought him some comfort, albeit only a little. There were four of them. It was clear what they were from their clothes and their unshaven, stubbly faces. He looked at them—they stared at him with unabashed curiosity. One slithered like a lizard through the clumps of reeds so that not a single reed moved. And then he disappeared. Soon he reappeared and beckoned to the others.

"What are the guys doing over there!" Yankovskiy thought. "Have they left without guessing I'm here?"

He was told to get up. He did not obey. He began to resist. Bringing up a horse, they lifted him onto it. They started to climb into the mountains along a narrow, winding path. Now he could see only the hooves stepping carefully among the stones. Looking down at this lifeless earth, he thought: It's all over. He was all washed up.

They had arrived. He realized this as soon as he saw the mossy openings of gun emplacements. They pushed him forcefully to indicate that he should sit down. He sat for a long time. They seemed to have forgotten him. But then a fat man came up to him, obviously the man in charge. He asked one of the group who had brought in the soldier something. And they both burst into laughter. Then the fat man raised his hand and with a gesture that brooked no objections summoned someone. A thin, frail man ran up to him. They discussed something among themselves, and the thin man started to ask questions in bad Russian....

On parting, the fat man held out a cigarette to Yankovskiy with a leer. He took it and inhaled. After he had inhaled several times, he thought: Today is the first rock of the landslide which had hit him. What awaited him tomorrow?...

"When we learned that Private Yankovskiy had disappeared," Officer A. Rashidov, a political worker, said, "we immediately joined in the search. Careful study of the terrain made it possible to conclude that the soldier had not died but might have been captured by one of the gangs operating under cover in the area. We continued the search. We refused to lose hope. And soon confirmation was received: He was alive. Now the most important task remained to be done—freeing the serviceman. We realized that it would not be easy. Why? There were several reasons for this."

By the time that specific steps had been taken to free the serviceman, they had suddenly learned of the existence of a directive among the oppositionists categorically forbidding any talks with the "shuravi" on the question of handing over Soviet prisoners.

First, they found out which gang was holding the soldier. This didn't take very long. Then contact was established with the gang leader who demanded as ransom several modern combat weapons.

"The affair was dragging on," Officer V. Avlasenko recalled.

"But the main task had been accomplished: We knew that Yankovskiy was alive. And we could struggle for his release."

A compromise was soon found. The mediator brought a note which contained the name of a man in Pol-e Charkhi prison.

This suited everyone. "We approached the president," Avlasenko continued. "And we got the 'go-ahead.' Soon the Afghan authorities handed us the man who interested the dushmans. We were not interested in who he was or why he had been in prison. We knew only that he been sentenced to the supreme penalty. And also, which encouraged us all, that the leader of the gang holding Yankovskiy needed this man very badly. So he would not be afraid of violating an order 'from above.' Now a lot depended on Yankovskiy's steadfastness. Both physical and spiritual.

"The point is that emissaries of the 'free world' had taken to visiting the gangs in which captive Soviet servicemen were held, as we learned. Not concealing their aims, they would try to persuade them to go the West and get them to turn traitor. Moreover, real blackmail was used. They said that prison awaited everyone who went back to the Soviet Union.

"Yankovskiy was approached more than once with such proposals. He flatly refused to go to the West. He behaved with dignity the whole time.... Look," the officer handed me one of the journals lying on his desk.

I took the journal. It is called HIJRAT. This is the organ of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan Cultural Committee. Opening it at a page marked with a piece of paper, I read a translated typescript of the text. It said that our servicemen voluntarily go over to the mujahidin and join them in the "holy war against the infidels." Specific names were even mentioned.

"All this is done with just one aim," Vladimir Vasilyevich explains, "to cut off our young men's way home."

For instance, blatant lies and slander are attributed to Private A.P. But what about the man who is alleged to have said this.

The so-called nationalities question is held in particular favor by the journal's publishers. They relish it in every possible way. A favorite theme is that Soviet officers by no means treat equally representatives of Slavic nationalities and people originating from the Central Asian republics. And again they name the people who have allegedly been victims of national oppression. There is only one aim—the more dirt a soldier "dishes out" regarding his country, the more difficult it will be for him to go back.

The point that should be made is this. Over the last 8 years much painstaking work has been carried out by commanders, political workers, and other officers. With their assistance, dozens of our servicemen who bore with dignity the difficult ordeal of captivity and did not lose their honor as Soviet people have been returned to the motherland via various channels. On returning home, they have actively joined in labor. Some of them are still carrying out military service. Captain M. Korchinskiy, a military pilot, was shot down in the Black Mountains. He was captured unconscious. They managed to free him. As reported by the command of the military aviation school where the officer is at present serving, he has been promoted to major.

So the champions of the "free world" are trying in vain to intimidate our people with the "postwar period."

I have to admit that when I met with commanders, political workers, and other officers whose job it is to search for and get back our people, the last thing I expected was that I would have to write about truisms. In this connection I cannot fail to cite a conversation with Major General A. Zakharov, chief of the Political Department of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, in the form in which I recorded it in my notepad. When I asked him: When do people usually get captured, he thought for a moment and then answered unexpectedly:

"Strange as it may seem, only a few are taken prisoner during combat." And he explained: "The servicemen's responsibility for each other is too great. They are usually captured because of their personal incautiousness and sometimes indiscipline. We reached this conclusion after analyzing many situations."

To the above should be added the fact that many people die for the same reasons, unfortunately. The death of Captain S.P. became known just a few days after my visit to Afghanistan. This is what happened. The officer had decided to hitchhike from one subunit to another. On the road dushmans stopped the Afghan truck. The captain was unarmed. We must pay tribute to his courage—he chose to die rather than be taken prisoner. Grabbing an assault rifle from one of the men, he put up resistance. He was killed during the ensuing shootout. Isn't that too high a price for a thoughtless decision?

"I am not going anywhere. I have decided to stay here," Yankovskiy repeated for the umpteenth time to the people sitting in front of him.

He had known in advance that these people were coming and would try to persuade him to go to the West. Mamad, who once worked with the joint Soviet-Afghan motor transport company and had a smattering of Russian, had told him about this event. He had helped Yankovskiy learn the language. It was he who had recently disclosed that the gang leader had long been negotiating with the "shuravi" about Yankovskiy and that he might be luckier than the soldier before him.

All he could do was wait. So he waited. There was no point in thinking about escape. Once he made an attempt. They quickly caught him, beat him up, and did not feed him for several days.

The days flew by. And each hour was part of his life gone. For some reason he remembered these words more than anything else. Despite the fact that he knew about the talks being conducted behind his back, he had little faith that they would succeed. Movies were one thing, real life was completely different, he thought. And no one would tell him how long he would have to remain here.

Mamad came to him once again and told him to get ready. He was really going to be taken somewhere soon. During the journey he established that he was being taken west, toward the border. The closer they got to it, the more cautious his escorts became. Suddenly some people appeared up ahead, and a fierce exchange of fire started between them and his companions. While the firing was going on, he thought: "So is it all for nothing? Have I waited for this day in vain? Have I moped and hoped so much in vain? It's not going to work out!" He ran off in a random direction. He was knocked down. They pounced on him, he tried to fight them off—no use. Freedom was so close—it had beckoned to him but was gone. So was it the end? His wandering gaze rested on Mamad. "Shuravi, you could do yourself serious harm," that man said, not looking him in the eye. "If they find you...." He did not finish. The ambushers were combing the area.

He was hidden in a village.

He could not remember how much time had passed since then. From a few remarks by his guards he realized that tomorrow there was to be another attempt to exchange him for "a man who was important and respected in these parts."

...It was cold. It was nighttime. Thick clouds covered the moon. Yankovskiy couldn't sleep. The morning was windy and damp. When they walked along the ravine, the wind tugged at his scarf and tore it off. He did not pick it up, pretending not to notice.

Figures appeared ahead. They came closer. He recognized them: They were his own people. One of them came up to him. He asked: "Is that you, Yankovskiy?"

"Yes," he answered, not daring to fully believe that all this was really happening to him and that it was not just a dream. And the whole way he kept repeating like some incantation: "I was looking for a way to get to my people."

"We believe you," the officer reassured him.

A photograph lay on the table. I took one of them. A young, open face looked at me. I read on the back: "Private V.P. Russian. Komsomol member. Secondary education. Small scar on his upper lip on the left side, tattoos on one arm. Dressed in cotton shirt. No headgear, wearing boots, no belt...."

It has been established that he is being held by Black Allam. He first demanded 300 men and a ransom for him. It is difficult to say how it will all end....

Gerasimov on Emigration to Israel Via Romania

TA2206053988 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV
in Hebrew 21 Jun 88 pp A1, 2

[Report by 'Oded Granot, Sha'ul Ben-Hayim, Richard Arnold, and Ran Dagoni]

[Text] "The USSR has no issue with the Israeli Government's decision to compel Jews who receive exit visas to Israel to go only to that country," Gennadiy Gerasimov, the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, told MA'ARIV in a telephone conversation from Moscow.

The spokesman added in an ironic tone: "The only thing is that you create the impression that Israel is not very concerned about the human right to travel freely anywhere one wants. You know that this principle is anchored in the charter of the United Nations.

[MA'ARIV] The Israeli Government is interested in making sure that Jews emigrate to Israel.

[Gerasimov] If they are good enough to come to Israel, you should rely on their word that they will not cheat. Your decision constitutes the denial of a person's freedom of choice to travel any place he likes.

[MA'ARIV] In your opinion, how will this decision affect the exit of Jews from the USSR?

[Gerasimov] I fear that the numbers will continue to decline. Fewer and fewer Jews will request exist visas to Israel because they compare life in Israel in the wake of the Palestinian uprising and your weather to the good life in California. They will prefer California. You will then come again with complaints.

[MA'ARIV] But from your point of view, is the arrangement that Jews leave through Romania directly for Israel acceptable?

[Gerasimov] From our point of view it is okay. If a Jew receives an exit visa to Israel he can leave for Israel, and if he receives a visa to the United States he can leave for California.

[MA'ARIV] If that is the case, the remaining problem is to make sure that the Netherlands will not pose any obstacles and will issue the transit visas to Romania.

[Gerasimov] That is really your problem. You will have to discuss that with them. That is not our problem.

[MA'ARIV] Mr Gerasimov, the Israeli delegation to Moscow is expected to arrive next month.

[Gerasimov] So I hear. I think they are coming this time. [passage omitted on reaction of the Netherlands to new visa arrangements]

Delegation Signs Economic Protocols in PDRY
LD2206043088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] Aden, 21 Jun (TASS)—As a result of a visit to the PDRY by a Soviet economic delegation led by V.P. Kuramin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex, two Soviet-Yemeni protocols have been signed here. The first concerns speeding up work on the construction of facilities at the oil deposits of Amal and Ayyad al-Gharb, the construction of an oil pipeline from the sites of the industrial extraction of oil in the province of Shabwa to the coast, and the preparation and exploitation of the gold deposit of (Madin), in the province of Hadramaut. The second protocol contains practical recommendations on the fulfillment of the decisions of the sixth session of the joint Soviet-Yemeni Standing Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation.

East Europe

CPCZ's Jakes Cited on Czechoslovak-Soviet Ties
PM2306095588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Responsibility for the Destiny of Mankind"]

[Text] Prague, 20 Jun—Czechoslovakia, which is an indissoluble part of the socialist community, will continue to strengthen and comprehensively develop its alliance with the USSR. This was stated by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, speaking in the city of Brno at the traditional festival of peace and Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship.

The bold and flexible foreign policy practiced by the CPSU and the Soviet state, the Czechoslovak leader said, is a vivid manifestation of the new political thinking in international affairs.

The Soviet-U.S. Moscow summit confirmed the sincere desire for a peaceful, secure future, M. Jakes stressed. Its results inspire hopes for the continuation of the positive development of international relations. The CSSR takes an active part in the struggle to create a comprehensive system of international security, in the development of interstate cooperation, and in the implementation of the peace-loving policy of the Warsaw Pact states. Together with the GDR it advocates the creation in Central Europe of zones free of chemical and nuclear weapons. The CSSR proposal on the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line where the Warsaw Pact and NATO states meet is aimed at resolving this task.

Going on to dwell on domestic policy issues, the Czechoslovak leader noted that the present restructuring of all spheres of the life of society has begun in the country on the initiative of and under the leadership of the CPCZ. Its main aim is to consolidate the socialist social system and to accelerate socioeconomic development in the interests of the working people.

Low Turnout Reported at Polish Council Elections
PM2306102588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Preliminary Results of Voting"]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jun—Elections to people's councils were held yesterday throughout Poland in a calm and businesslike atmosphere. As a result of the voting, in which, according to preliminary data from the Central Electoral Commission, approximately 56 percent of eligible citizens took part, deputies have been elected to voivod, city, district, and commune councils. Approximately 254,000 listed candidates stood for 108,846 posts.

The present election to the people's councils, Sejm Marshal R. Malinowski said to a DZIENNIK LUDOWY correspondent, was different in that people did not merely vote but chose their representative from among several candidates. This has created conditions for the election of most energetic deputies, people who are notable for their high qualifications It is also symbolic, he continued, that shortly before the elections the Sejm updated the law on people's councils and territorial self-management to substantially extend the powers of the new local authorities and their financial and organizational capabilities. This provides them with a natural guarantee that the many local problems which confront people every day will be resolved more successfully, he stressed.

J. Urban, Polish Government press spokesman, pointed out that the main reason for the fact that fewer people—as expected—turned out to vote than in the 1984 election and in last year's referendum was the unfavorable sentiments based on the economic situation and all those negative phenomena which were discussed at the recent PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The new people's councils will focus their work on overcoming these phenomena as speedily as possible.

Further on Romanian Chemical Waste Scandal

PM2206125188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent V. Volodin dispatch: "Romania: Unlawful Deal Condemned"]

[Text] Bucharest—The Romanian press report that a session of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee was held on 17 June in Bucharest. Apart from questions dealing with the harvesting of summer agricultural crops and other domestic problems, a report from the minister of internal affairs and the Romanian prosecutor general on the conclusion of an illegal contract with the Western "Chimica-Liechtenstein" Company, which used the territory and status of the free port of Sulina to store a large quantity of waste products from the chemical and petrochemical industries, was also on the session's agenda.

What happened in the Danubian port of Sulina on the Black Sea, which is right near the Soviet-Romanian border? As it emerged in the course of the investigation, the port administration concluded a contract with the firm "Chimica-Liechtenstein" in 1986 in contravention of the country's laws, a contract which gave this firm the right to use some of the port's territory to store poisonous chemical waste. A year later the Bucharest "Chimica" Foreign Trade Association concluded a similar contract with the same Western firm. Once again the terms of the contract were far from legal. Moreover, the firm "Chimica-Liechtenstein" managed to hide from the Romanian side the amount of chemical waste destined for storage. As a result, the report stressed, the uncontrolled buildup of chemicals created a real threat for the health and safety of the inhabitants of this zone.

The Romanian press is not publicizing the terms of the unlawful transactions. This is, possibly, necessary in the interests of the investigation. But the strict decision adopted at the session of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee indicates that the country's laws were violated—and what is more, seriously violated.

After making a thorough analysis of the people actively involved in this case, the Political Executive Committee resolved to remove the directors of the port and of the "Chimica-Bucharest" Foreign Trade Association and also senior management workers at this organization from their posts and institute criminal proceedings against them in accordance with the republic's legislation for gross violation of the country's law. It also resolved to use Romanian law and also the provisions of international law to institute criminal proceedings against "Chimica-Liechtenstein."

In accordance with the decision of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, C. Stanca, minister state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the director of the Customs Main Administration, and other leading workers in this department have been removed from their posts for illegally concluding contracts and misinforming the government about their terms.

Ilie Vaduva, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Stefan Birlea, chairman of the State Planning Committee, have also been relieved of their posts. The session adopted the decision to remove the latter from his position as candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee.

By a decision of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Commission, public reprimands were issued to Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister, Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister, and Nicolae M. Ion, minister of the chemical and petrochemical industry.

At the same time the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee drew the attention of Tudor Postelnicu, minister of internal affairs, to the fact that although he had informed the government about the conclusion of unlawful agreements he had nonetheless taken no urgent steps to curtail them. At the same time Government Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu was reprimanded; he did not take urgent steps in time to put an end to the storage of poisonous chemical waste in the port of Sulina.

West Europe

Medvedev on Soviet 'War of Aggression'

LD2206202888 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1930 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] A Soviet historian, Roy Medvedev, thinks that the winter war [against Finland 1939-40] was a war of aggression by the Soviet Union. Medvedev explained his views during an interview with the NOVOSTI News Agency today. According to him, the winter war is the only time the Soviet Union has started a war of aggression.

Two Soviet Warships Visit Finnish Port

PM2306081188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jun 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Soviet Ships in Finland"]

[Text] Helsinki, 21 Jun—A detachment of Soviet warships has arrived here on an official friendly visit. It comprises the training ship "Smolnyy" and the oceanographic research ship "Ivan Kruzenshtern." The detachment is headed by Admiral V.A. Samoylov, commander of Leningrad Naval Base.

The Soviet warships are paying a visit in the year of the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the Republic of Finland. Great interest is being shown in the program of the visit in Finland.

Notes Exchanged With Sweden on Zone Agreements

LD2306032388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Stockholm, 22 Jun (TASS)—An exchange of notes announcing the two sides' approval of the Soviet-Swedish agreements concluded earlier this year took place today at Sweden's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thus, the agreements on the demarcation of the continental shelf, the Soviet economic zone, and the Swedish fishing zone in the Baltic Sea and on mutual relations with respect to fishing in the formerly disputed area of the Baltic come into force. The speeches made at the ceremony by B.D. Pankin, USSR ambassador to Sweden, and H. Corell, head of the legal section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [title as received], emphasized that the agreements open new, favorable prospects for the further fruitful development of Soviet-Swedish relations.

Shevardnadze Receives FRG Ambassador

LD2206162688 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, received today the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the USSR, Andreas Meyer-Landrut, at his request.

The ambassador handed over to Shevardnadze a personal message from Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

They exchanged views on the situation at the Vienna follow-up meeting on security and cooperation in Europe.

The two sides pointed to the proximity of the views of the USSR and West Germany on the issue of the need for the earliest completion of the Vienna meeting.

Bondarenko on Austria's EC Approach

AU2306092488 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 22 Jun 88 p 3

[Otto Schulmeister report: "Warning Against a 'Panacea'; Moscow's Expert on Austria on Vienna's EC Wishes"]

[Text] Vienna/Moscow—Under Shevardnadze much has changed in the Soviet Foreign Ministry, both with regard to the staff and to the style, even though the change in the way of thinking cannot be felt everywhere to the same degree. I had last talked to Ambassador A.P. Bondarenko at the beginning of the Gorbachev era; last week I again had the opportunity to talk with him. He is still the chief of the Third European Department, which deals with relations with the FRG, Austria, and now also Switzerland. Switzerland has replaced the GDR.

The experienced diplomat works in a magnificent Stalinist building, which houses the ministry. For many years he had worked under Gromyko; since the 1960's he has been a member of the so-called "German scholars group." In the meantime, much has changed in Moscow and in the world—thus, the Thesis No 10 for the forthcoming party conference condemns its "dogmatic" orientation of the past; in other words, a new image is being developed. The diplomat's lively, intelligent gaze says enough, even though continuity has priority over flexibility here.

There is no lack of political visitors from Austria: Foreign Minister Mock is expected soon; Vranitzky has been announced for autumn. Gennadiy Gerasimov, the spokesman of the new style in the ministry, has warned Vienna against joining the EC. Austria, which itself is in a painful phase of transition, cannot imagine its economic future without access to the future single European market. Does this once more put long-standing, good relations between a big state and small state into a dead end? For decades the EC has been a contentious issue, but in the meantime perestroyka [Russian word used] has started. What can Mock and Vranitzky expect then?

Bondarenko assures that there will be no lack of sympathetic feelings and understanding for Austria. "It is in particular a changing world that shows the constructive factor constituted by the neutral states," he continues.

"At present the CSCE conference in Vienna is demonstrating their contribution; that is, bringing diverging interests together." But apart from the fact that some issues are still open, can one make economic and social progress with such a contribution? What is the meaning of Gorbachev's speech about an "all-European house" if Austria does not become an example of this, the guest asks.

The ambassador retreats to the statement that an "all-European house" is a term with many meanings and the Soviet Union does not want to be the architect of this house. The most important thing is that it really is a house, no matter the style—and Bondarenko certainly does not refer to the one of his own office building. Anyway, one has to proceed from reality—and this means that at present there are two camps, the EC and CEMA. "Today EC membership is considered as some sort of panacea in your country, a miraculous cure to master the problems one faces. Politicians and journalists casually talk about this without considering the consequences."

But, on 24 June, the EC and CEMA will sign a first agreement, the Austrian interjects. Ireland, which also considers itself a neutral country, is also an EC member. Why should Austria then continue to stand back? Is it possible that there are different classes of neutral countries, such as in the question of guided weapons? Bondarenko immediately comes to the point: There is a direct connection between EC membership and neutrality. Therefore, the Swedish foreign minister, too, said that one cannot be neutral as an EC member. "We certainly want Austria to be well. Why does it not look for other ways, such as Switzerland, Sweden, or Finland—that means, via EFTA—to help itself?" But Bondarenko does not question that Vienna itself determines its policy of neutrality.

The former policy of nyet under and after Stalin is only a remote memory. Everywhere in the West, Gorbachev's perestroyka program nurtures the hope that it is particularly in the field of economy that a bridge could be built. Neutral Austria would be an excellent pillar, because the country intends to stick to its neutrality—there is no discussion about this, the Austrian guest insists. Bondarenko rejects such a view of things, and also considers the word "veto" inappropriate, because the times have changed. Moscow, too, knows that after the deep wounds caused to Austria by the U.S. Watch List decision, a second refusal, this time from the East, would cause domestic polarization and destabilization.

"A friend of your country understands your worries about a political schizophrenia, which could gain ground there, when he looks back on the history of this century, but one must take into consideration the logic of international relations," Bondarenko answers. It is not a question of a veto but of a sensible solution, and easy solutions are not always the best. "Of course, it is correct that the world changes, but this must not shake the foundations of our relations. The State Treaty and the Law on Permanent Neutrality remain the basis."

It will thus not be very easy for the Austrians in their talks in Moscow. The hope for a possible coordination of Moscow's new European policy and Austria's desire to join the single European market, still remains a pious wish. Neverthelesss, one says good-bye to the Soviet partner with the conviction that the most important things that emerged in the talk were those that were not said. One has to take into consideration all developments in the Soviet capital, that is, the reservation concerning the change of things and the undeniable interaction between Gorbachev's perestroyka and the credibility it will find with its European neighbors. This also is Vienna's trump card.

Gorbachev Congratulates New PCI Leader
LD2206151388 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has congratulated Achille Occhetto on his election to the post of general secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

"In the coming years, on the eve of the third millenium, mankind will have to solve immense tasks, and first of all the task of preserving civilisation on earth", the message says. "Communists, socialists, democrats, all progressive and peaceloving forces of our planet can and must make an important and priceless contribution to the attainment of these tasks".

Mikhail Gorbachev wished Achille Occhetto and all Italian Communists big successes in the struggle for the triumph of the ideals of peace, democracy and socialism.

Gusev Receives Italian Industrialist G. Porta
PM2306112588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 17 June V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Giorgio Porta, vice president of the "Montedison" firm (Italy).

At the meeting the sides discussed a broad range of issues connected with developing cooperation between the USSR and Italy in the chemical industry. They examined some results from the activity of the joint Soviet-Italian enterprise and proposals to create new joint enterprises and discussed the possibility of the "Montedison" firm taking part in the modernization of chemical production units in the USSR.

Giorgio Porta talked about the results of the session held in Moscow of the Italian-Soviet working group for the chemical and petrochemical industries, mineral fertilizers, pharmaceutics, and the appropriate machine building.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Sending New Military Units to Panama

LD2306071388 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Washington June 23 TASS—The United States has announced the sending of new military units to Panama.

Cathie Wood, a spokeswoman for the Pentagon, announced on Wednesday that the deployment of a 250-member group of U.S. servicemen in the Panama Canal Zone was planned to be completed by the forthcoming Saturday. She declined to say when their "temporary" stay in Panama would end.

Analysts view the dispatch of an additional contingent of U.S. servicemen as yet another evidence of the ongoing pressure on Panamanian Government by Washington which seeks the removal of General Manuel Antonio Noriega from the post of the commander of the National Defence Forces of Panama.

Since March this year the United states has already brought more than two thousand U.S. servicemen to its bases in the Panama Canal Zone, mainly from among military policeunits and select "anti-terrorist" units.

Haitian Party Leader Interviewed on Coup

PM2206122588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Kamorin interview with Gerard Joseph, a representative of the United Party of Haitian Communists, under the general heading "Haiti: Makeshift Dictators in Power Again"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A. Kamorin, our correspondent in Cuba, asked Gerard Joseph, a representative of the United Party of Haitian Communists, to give his views on events in Haiti.

[Joseph] Just as on 29 November last year, when A. Namphy virtually completed preparations for the elections and then wrecked them with brutal reprisals, he has now provoked the president into taking a risky step and created the pretext for a coup. The motives for the coup are still rather vague. It is possible, in the opinion of members of the military, that L. Manigat was not "obedient" enough.

[Kamorin] What awaits Haiti now?

[Joseph] The people of Haiti are well familiar with Namphy's style of government—provocation and repression. The general has turned everything back the way it was: He has dissolved parliament and suspended the constitution. A. Namphy has now proclaimed himself president and announced the members of his cabinet. It includes all his "old friends" from the National Government Council, as the old junta was called.

I would like to draw attention to one fact: Whereas in its initial statements after the coup the U.S. State Department declared its support for L. Manigat, subsequent statements have only contained calls to "restore democracy." I must remind you that U.S. Congress is still blocking the provision of military and economic aid to Haiti, which was terminated after the bloody terror of November last year. I do not rule out the possibility that Namphy will try to hold token elections again to give himself a "democratic" screen and, at the same time, secure new injections of funds from Washington.

Commentaries View Haiti's Future After Coup

Bogomolov in PRAVDA

PM2206142188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[Pavel Bogomolov "Observer's Opinion" under the general heading: "Haiti: Coup d'Etat"]

[Text] ...So, yet another military coup in the history of the poorest—according to UN official data—country in the Western Hemisphere.

Current events in Port-au-Prince confirm first and foremost the impotence of the civilian government that has just been overthrown. Incidentally, it came to power quite recently—last winter as a result of the only "general election" in 30 years (!) involving... 5-7 percent of the electorate, but supported, on the other hand, by the army. However, then the military, headed by the supporters of former dictator Duvalier junior, who is in exile, detected "too much independence" in the actions of the government cabinet.

The upshot was that the armed wing of Haitian reaction proved stronger, more experienced, and more decisive in its actions. As for the leftist opposition, it was too lifeless and disjointed to advance in earnest any definite democratic alternative.

In the opinion of Western observers, former President Manigat, notwithstanding all the liberalism of his public statements, was trying to use the army for selfish ends. Which he was indeed trying to do—but, as can be seen, unsuccessfully. The military elite taught the 57-year-old politician the graphic lesson that they do not want to be anyone's instrument and are themselves dying for power.

However, there is also a significant external aspect to events in Haiti. This also enables one to have a better understanding of why the squabble "at the state helm" worsened at precisely this time. The point is that a most severe socioeconomic crisis, which was intensified by Washington's decision to cut the volume of its previously-promised aid to Port-au-Prince by $70 million or by two-thirds, reached its "peak" in the country. Let me remind you that Haiti's total budget totals $272 million and firm U.S. positions in the mining industry, agriculture, and tourism of this Caribbean country ensure that U.S. corporations exercise virtually complete control over Haiti's economy.

It is not surprising in this situation that the problem of the allocation of aid to Haiti revolves to a large extent around the election struggle between the U.S. Republican and Democratic Parties. The Democrats have criticized the incumbent Washington administration quite sharply for its close ties with most offensive antipopular regimes, like the Haitian regime.

Admittedly, a few days before the coup the now-deposed President Manigat was about to try to demonstrate to Washington his imaginary commitment to antidictatorial trends. To this end he dismissed General Namphy, commander in chief of the Armed Forces and head of the triumvirate that recently ruled the country. But the misfortune was that, by ousting Namphy, Manigat effectively brought into the foreground his own supporter Colonel Jean-Claude Paul, a man who was also responsible for many acts of repression against his compatriots. Moreover, in March U.S. courts brought serious accusations of drugs trafficking against him.

...At any rate the hopes of ordinary Haitians for a better future, which arose after the fall of the Duvalier family's "clan dictatorship," have hitherto not been destined to come true, and the coup in Port-au-Prince is convincing evidence of this.

TASS Analyst Comments

LD2206184988 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 22 Jun 88

[text] Moscow June 22 TASS—Follows commentary by Nikolay Chigir, a TASS political news analyst:

While world public has wrathfully condemned the military coup in Haiti, the Washington administration has recognized the power of General Namphy, thus demonstrating its traditional support for reactionary dictatorial regimes. One cannot help drawing this conclusion in reading the statement by the spokesman for the U.S. State Department that the USA will support diplomatic relations with the unlawful Haitian regime and does not intend to apply sanctions against it.

General Namphy, the head of the regime, has already long been notorious as one of the oppressors of the freedom-loving Haitian people. He was chief of the General Staff of the Army under the bloody Duvalier tyranny. And after its fall in February 1986. Namphy, who headed the military triumvirate launched a campaign of terror and violence in order to reverse the process of democratisation, which started in that country under the pressure of the mass of the people. Namphy was the main champion of the formula "Duvalierism without Duvalier", which the U.S. ruling circles forced on Haiti. It is apt to recall that during the final period of Duvalier's rule Washington made every effort to ensure that the U.S. positions in Haiti remain intact in case of Duvalier's fall. The U.S. Administration set out to embellish, facelift the corrupt Duvalier regime without changing its substance. The triumvirate with Namphy at its head, which came to power after Duvalier fled the country, immediately got full support from Washington. Despite the terror continuing in Haiti, the continued flouting of the basic human rights, the USA then granted the Namphy regime more than 100 million dollars in military and other aid.

And now after overthrowing the constitutional president, who was in power for only a few months, General Namphy has turned, as a matter of fact, into Haiti's sole dictator. And, as we see, his official recognition by the Washington administration immediately followed.

Washington time and again issues declarations on its commitment to the ideals of freedom and democracy, the principles of the protection of human rights. But declarations will be declarations. The actions by the U.S. ruling circles in the international arena, including in Latin America and the Caribbean, have nothing in common with these declarations. The example at hand is not only Haiti. Without the U.S. support such dictatorial and reactionary regimes as those of Chile, Paraguay and Salvador, would not be able to keep in power. The contra elements, whose tactics of terror and violence has resulted in the death and injury of tens of thousands of Nicaraguan citizens, would not be able to exist without the U.S. support. Exposing this stand of Washington, prominent American historian Arthur Schlesinger pointed out in NEW YORK TIMES: What sort of hypocrites we Americans are. We are endlessly shouting about our commitment to democracy and human rights. Yet we prevent a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Central America because of our false concern about the future of democracy in Nicaragua, the concern which was not visible, when Nicaragua was ruled by Somoza, and which is invisible in our policy today vis-a-vis, let us say, the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile... Strange as it is, we continue overlooking the tragedy through which that unfortunate country—Haiti—is going.

By giving support for the military Namphy regime, Washington is thus setting itself against the Latin American and Caribbean nations, which strongly oppose the regime and, as is pointed out in the government statement of Argentina, voice hope that the Haitian people will be able to find a way towards restoring their sovereignty and basic human rights, towards economic and social development.

Ortega Urges Ending Regional Arms Race

LD2206093988 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Managua June 22 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government spoke in favour of ending the arms race in Central America and withdrawing all foreign troops from that region.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega condemned the U.S. Administration for escalating tensions, on Tuesday. He said that the aggravation of the situation was running counter to the peace efforts of the Central American governments and peoples who had signed a peace settlement agreement in Guatemala last August.

"We are ready to reach an agreement with all Central American countries on ending all military presence, eliminating military bases and withdrawing all foreign military advisers," Ortega said.

The United States is exerting every effort to disrupt the demilitarization process in Central America. That is why Nicaragua is urging all countries to search independently for ways of ending the arms race in the region, Ortega went on to say.

He suggested that Central America be proclaimed a peace zone free from military exercises, involving foreign troops.

Ortega confirmed Nicaragua's intention to follow the path of a peace settlement in the region and said his government was ready to extend the unilateral cessation of offensive operations against the contras till after June 30.

That will create favourable conditions for resuming the contra-interrupted political dialogue on the final ceasefire in Nicaragua.

The cessation of bloodshed and further negotiations with the contra leaders are the only ways to strengthen peace and democracy in Nicaragua. The process, however, is being impeded by the U.S. Administration's aggressive policy.

Most Americans do not support their government's course. Therefore, it is the Washington administration pursuing its aggressive course, rather than ordinary Americans, that should be regarded as Nicaragua's enemies.

The president reported that direct and indirect damage caused to Nicaragua by the Reagan administration's economic embargo stood at 12.3 billion dollars and added that his government was planning to demand its compensation through the U.N. International Court.

Daniel Ortega called on the U.S. Government and Congress to stop the criminal policy towards Nicaragua and contribute to ending the bloodshed and finding a peace settlement to the military conflict there.

Chilean Communist Party Issues Declaration

PY1706130988 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2000 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] The Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] has advised its members to vote no in the upcoming plebiscite because it is convinced that this is the only way by which the conditions of the plebiscite will be improved so as to favor the cause of democracy. It will also be the only way by which a defeat will be inflicted on Pinochet and favorable conditions will be created to oust the dictatorship.

The decision to vote no in the plebiscite was made during a PCCh Central Committee plenary meeting at which all the aspects of the national political situation were analyzed in detail.

The PCCh Central Committee's debates and decisions were revealed yesterday in Santiago during a news conference with Julieta Campuzano, Jose Sanfuentes, and other PCCh members and PCCh youth spokesmen.

The PCCh Central Committee understands that a new social and political scene has been established in Chile as a result of the social mobilization and an intense political struggle.

Pinochet's determination to remain in power at all cost and the opposition forces' struggle for democracy have given rise to increasingly more open social and political confrontations. These events have led millions of Chileans to get involved, in different manners and extents, in the great national struggle between democracy and dictatorship.

According to the spokesmen, the PCCh Central Committee understands that the dictator has proclaimed himself his own successor. All the state apparatus that serve him are implementing increasingly brutal repressive measures.

The regime's representatives participation is frankly outrageous. The only thing the government junta—which is supposed to propose a candidate—will have to do is say Amen.

The PCCh leaders recalled that the military chief recently warned of a new blood bath if the no vote wins the plebiscite. They also said that they will not modify the Constitution.

The PCCh likewise observes the promising development of a social mobilization, as demonstrated by the recent railroad workers strikes, the conflicts of more than 200 industries, the strikes staged by journalists and university students, the rallies in favor of those kidnapped in 1987, the struggle for the freedom of Clodomiro Almeida and other political prisoners, the demands for the end of exile, and by other similar demonstrations of solidarity with the independent press.

The PCCh says that the majority of the Chilean people want the dictatorship to end, as demonstrated by the results of the internal elections held in the past few months in labor unions, student, and professional organizations.

The financial oligarchic sectors and the great businessmen have cast away their mask as independent and sided with the yes vote, thus giving their approval to the regime and Pinochet.

The illusions of those who believe that U.S. imperialism could do something for the reestablishment of democracy in Chile are ill founded, the PCCh representatives said.

History has demonstrated that imperialism does not abandon a dictator who favors it until a popular rebellion does not leave room for any other alternative, as happened in the Philippines, Haiti, and South Korea.

The PCCh plenum notes that in truth, imperialism tries to maintain the economic model and the Armed Forces as a force against social change. Therefore, imperialism wants, above all, to prevent the emergence of a mass movement that is determined and resolute to lead the country to a democratic solution. That is why the objective of imperialist intervention in Chilean internal politics is to neutralize the communist danger. Imperialism has for some time been working to isolate our party. Both the imperialists and the dictatorship's anticommunists seek to isolate the party from the masses.

The exclusionist policy of a segment of the centrist opposition does not elicit the response expected by the promoters of the policy. Important popular sectors share and support the PCCh position of determined and multifaceted confrontation with the tyranny, thus reinforcing communist influence in the nation's affairs. The Central Committee Plenum points out that the Communists' duty is to assume, at every turn, an attitude to strengthen the future of the movement, despite occasional setbacks that that attitude might bring about. In our case, that attitude is mandatory to dispel the electoral mirage, to denounce the fraudulent purposes of the dictatorship, to exert ourselves in promoting social demonstrations to resist the regime's continuity, and to impede the sellout of popular sovereignty. This has been and still is the basis of our tactics.

In practice that position has proved to be correct and has yielded some results. More than that, through our actions we have vindicated the protagonist role of the people, their problems, needs, and their struggle. We have contended that the people are and must be the driving force of the required changes. And we add that with such an idea in mind and by exerting ourselves to take events in the direction of direct confrontations with the tyranny, we, the Communists, adopt and will continue to adopt decisions favorable to the interests of the people, in every concrete instance, including the plebiscite.

We can see, continues the PCCh, that the impetus of events has forced the opposition politicians, who entered into a no-vote coalition and then sought negotiations with the Armed Forces, to increase the level of confrontation with the dictatorship and to intensify denunciations that the much-talked about plebiscite is nothing but a fraud in the making. The opposition politicians are now recognizing and rejecting both the threat of a coup and the atmosphere of terror surrounding the plebiscite. In view of all this, we in some cases promote and in other cases accept to some extent social demonstrations as an indispensable path toward a democratic outcome.

The PCCh points out that the correct idea that the plebiscite by itself will not resolve the conflict between democracy and dictatorship is now widespread in the opposition. Moreover, the opposition in general also realizes that to advance toward democracy, the timetable established in the 1980 Constitution must be broken in order to truly create democratic conditions for holding open and competitive elections fo the presidency and Congress, with free participation of all political parties. It can therefore be seen that gaining a majority at the ballot box will not be sufficient to thwart Pinochet's pretension to perpetuate his power.

We have denounced the fraudulent character of the plebiscite, thus contributing to making the majority understand that the plebiscite does not represent a solution, just as a dialogue with the Armed Forces does not. The solution can only be found through struggle and social mobilization.

Continuing, the PCCh says that the social mobilization we have resolutely proposed, together with other leftist parties and important centrist sectors, is changing the general situation, thus making it possible for the plebiscite to be increasingly considered as a point of confrontation between dictatorship and democracy. Taking all these considerations into account, the PCCh Central Committee has resolved to call for a no vote. It does so in the certainty that this is the only position that will contribute to creating better conditions to transform the plebiscite into an exercise in favor of the democratic cause, by defeating Pinochet and thereby delivering a death blow to the dictatorship.

We are saying no to the dictatorship in many ways, at all times, and in all places—as we have said it since the 11 September 1973 coup. Our decision to call for a no vote at the plebiscite expresses our party's determination to move along the line of action it has chosen.

This is a decision we will carry forward with utmost energy so that the confrontation with the dictatorship can attain its maximum intensity, giving priority to popular demands. We intend to develop the plan for the party and the youth, as well as that of our sympathizers and friends, as intensely as possible in the arena of propaganda, political struggle, ideological debate, house-to-house campaigning, electoral registration, and formation of base committees. The people, the PCCh Central Committee stresses, must come out on the streets, take the offensive to all fronts, and be prepared to defend the will of the majority.

The call to vote no is decided from an independent position, which is also a unitarian position, thus to contribute to the unification of the working class and the people, to a cohesive left, and to the development of a common action by all the opposition forces. The PCCh Central Committee further stresses that everyone must make the effort so that the left can clearly and unequivocally express a position determined to put an end to the institutional system erected by Pinochet by denouncing the plebiscite for what it is: a fraud.

The people must be prepared for any and every circumstance, so that, to a man, they can paralyze the country in case of a palace coup, in case the dictatorship proclaims the victory of the yes-vote by consummating the fraud, or in case the tyranny disregards the triumph of the no vote so that Pinochet can stay in power. If any of these circumstances come about, the people must demand the immediate end of the tyranny, the end of the 1980 Constitution, and the formation of a provisional, democratic government. The PCCh notes that it is imperative at this time for all democratic forces to coordinate their efforts to overthrow the regime through the only possible way; that is, by rallying behind the social and political demands. This calls for a unity of action without exclusions of the whole opposition so that the dictatorship can be defeated at the plebiscite. This defeat then should trigger those mass actions that can translate into a nationwide and victorious uprising for restoring democracy.

We reiterated our deepest conviction that only joint action and struggle will make it possible to restore a democratic regime in our fatherland. All the party activists and the communist youth are champions of the unswerving decision to contribute to that victory, the PCCh Central Committee document concludes.

This document was released yesterday at a news conference in Santiago.

Peruvian Premier Congratulated on Appointment

PM2106144988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has sent Armando Villanueva del Campo, chairman of the Peruvian Council of Ministers, a telegram of congratulations on his appointment to this high-ranking post. It expressed confidence that the friendly ties between the Soviet Union and Peru, which are in the interests of the two peoples and the task of strengthening peace and international cooperation, will continue to develop on a constructive, mutually advantageous basis.

In a reply message, A. Villanueva del Campo expressed gratitude for the congratulations and underlined the wish of the Peruvian Government to continue to develop relations between our peoples and governments, which have already reached a high level and are founded on a deep mutual desire for peace and a coincidence of views on the need to democratize international relations.

Ecuadoran President Congratulated on Election

PM2106151588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent Rodrigo Borja Cevallos a telegram congratulating him on his election as president of Ecuador and wishing him successes in his activity in this high post.

The telegram expresses the confidence that the good relations between the Soviet Union and Ecuador will be further developed in the interests of our countries' peoples and in the interests of strengthening peace and international cooperation.

In his reply telegram R. Borja, expressing gratitude for the congratulations, stressed that one of the avenues of activity of the government which he heads will be to strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and to resolve the tasks of strengthening international peace and security.

Political & Social

'Mass Hypnosis' in Nagorno-Karabakh; Troops Sent

PM2306095388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 88 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent N. Demidov report under the rubric "Details": "Nagorno-Karabakh Again"]

[Text] Stepanakert, Azerbaijan SSR—In the last few days the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has become even more tense. It would seem impossible that it could have deteriorated any further, but as if under mass hypnosis the Armenian population of Stepanakert has been holding demonstrations and rallies day in and day out. Judging by everything, workers at enterprises and institutions do not intend to resume work until the "Karabakh issue" is resolved.

As is well known, a session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet recently gave its consent to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] being amalgamated with that republic's territory. However, a session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet deemed this unacceptable. The deputies who spoke in Baku noted that the arguments about "redrawing" the borders of the union republics were groundless. The existing administrative and territorial division of the USSR ensures the normal socioeconomic development of all the country's republics. Any changes to this division are, under the country's Constitution, the prerogative of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Whereas in February this year those at a rally in Stepanakert said that questions of a socioeconomic nature were the compelling motive for Nagorno-Karabakh to leave Azerbaijan, today these questions have seemingly been forgotten. Demagogic statements hide behind slogans about restructuring. But is restructuring helped by a situation when working life in the oblast has been virtually paralyzed? Who needs these processions that exhaust people? One gets the impression that the inhabitants' grave moral and psychological state is being maintained artificially and very skillfully. Every conversation or passing chat invariably moves onto the same subject. This has been tormenting Stepanakert people for almost 5 months now. I saw desperation in the eyes of people led into an impasse by the organizers of the disturbances. Many people realize the senselessness and absurdity of these methods of self-exhaustion, but they can do nothing about it—things have gone too far.

On 21 June a session of the oblast soviet examined the question of the situation prevailing in the oblast and measures to stabilize it. The resolution records dissent from the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet session's reply that the demand to transfer the NKAO to another republic was unacceptable. Moreover, it was decided to appeal once again—directly to the USSR Supreme Soviet—for this question to be examined. The deputies called on the oblast's population to get back to work as normal and recover what has been lost.

But the calls for a normalization of the situation are still just words. People gathered outside the oblispolkom demanding that the document adopted by the oblast soviet session include a paragraph about "firm resolve" to transfer the NKAO to Armenia—that is, to continue pressuring state organs.

In short, the situation is still not being normalized. Armenian families continue to migrate to Armenia, and Azerbaijani families to Azerbaijan from Armenia. Troops have been moved in to a number of cities, including cities in Nagorno-Karabakh. Events in the autonomous oblast are causing Soviet people concern. Party and soviet organs in both republics should be taking every measure to reassure people and prevent conflicts between representatives of the two nations. Those who have jeopardized the long-standing friendship between the two peoples will have to answer for it sooner or later. Only calm, restraint, and a clear understanding of the current position can protect us from extremely undesirable consequences.

Armenians Demonstrate for Airikyan's Release

AU2306093888 Paris AFP in English 0935 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, June 23 (AFP)—One thousand people have demonstrated outside the headquarters of the KGB secret police in Yerevan, the Armenian capital, to demand the release of jailed nationalist Paruir Airikyan, a dissident source said Thursday.

The demonstration, held Wednesday, then moved on to the public prosecutor's offices where protesters were told that Mr. Airikyan's family would be able to visit him Thursday, Igor Muradyan, a former member of the banned Karabakh Committee, said in a telephone interview from Yerevan. [passage omitted]

Teacher on Problems of Bilingual Schools

PM2106115988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 May 88 p 1

[Article by specialist teacher Sergey Bogdanov: "Dictation for the Teacher"]

[Text] Kedabekskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan SSR—Our village, Novosaratovka, was founded around 150 years ago by settlers who had come from Saratov Guberniya. Today 420 of the 2,500 inhabitants are Russians. We live happily together.

But there is something bothering me. In 1971 a course taught in Azerbaijani was organized in our school. It began to be called an international school. Since then September has been an anxious month for us. Parents literally besiege the school, wanting to make absolutely sure their children are in the Russian sector, not in the Azerbaijani. I will talk about the reasons later on; for the moment I will cite two examples from my own experience.

The school director summoned me and said: "You will have to teach fourth-grade mathematics. If you refuse, a young teacher will do it. But she has very poor Russian...." I got the hint: My son was in the fourth grade. Was I my son's enemy? But I refused all the same. In the end I decided I would be able to give my son extra tuition at home.

That same year I went on a course to improve information science teaching in schools. As a "specialist," I was given the chance to teach information science to ninth-grade students in the Azerbaijani sector. Alas, I could only manage two lessons. Conversing on everyday matters is one thing; talking mathematics in a language that is not your native language is quite another....

These two instances set me thinking: Why do we have such problems with bilingualism in schools? What is the solution?

To be frank, it is not easy for teachers of Russian language and literature working in schools attended by children of other nationalities. The state recognized this when it gave extra pay to Russianists teaching in ethnic schools. Alas, this has not solved the problems.

In 1971 I came to work in my old school after graduating from the Baku pedagogical institute. There were only 22 teachers then. Now there are 54. The number of students has hardly changed. But the number of classes has increased—due to the Azerbaijani sector. Strange, these classes. There are 13 children in each of the junior classes (more than 30 in the Russian sector), in the fifth grade there are only 5 students (42 in the Russian). Nevertheless, 26 of the 30 new teachers were sent to work in the...Azerbaijani sector. To keep the new teachers occupied the administration was forced to give them lessons in the Russian sector as well. What happens as a result of this I have already described. The upshot is that both teachers and pupils suffer. Although, in the case of the former, they are still mighty lucky. In fact, even according to official data, more than 14,000 teachers with higher education are working in our republic in fields that have nothing to do with their specialty and have been waiting for years for work in education. Some are waiting in vain....

That is a fact. It is also a fact that, on the other hand, there has been a cut in the training of teachers for schools which teach in Russian in the republic. Whereas when I was a student teachers for Russian schools were trained at the Azerbaijan V.I. Lenin Pedagogical Institute in all specialties, now they only train primary teachers.

So for years there has been a real battle raging in international schools among parents, teachers, and school administrators: What class should the first grade study in? In what language? Russian or Azerbaijani? Many parents want their children to study in Russian. Why? It is perfectly understandable. Indeed, it is no secret that the republic is brimming over with its own manpower and some young people are forced to go outside the republic to find the work they want. Hence the wish to learn Russian—both to communicate and to improve their qualifications.

But it is not just a matter of teaching cadres. Another serious stumbling block is textbooks. I am simply convinced that textbooks in international schools like ours should be prepared with regional conditions in mind. It needs a truly creative approach. Meanwhile.... Here is an example. An Azerbaijani student spends 10 years studying Russian and Soviet literature from a standard, national textbook in Russian. And...he has practically no idea about Azerbaijani literature. They simply do not offer it. Wouldn't it be possible to include in textbooks works by such major poets and writers as S. Vurgun, Nizami Gyandzhevi, Dzhafar Dzhabarli, Nabi Khazri, and Bakhtiyar Vakhabzade! In fact, a true patriot of our multinational homeland can only be molded through love of one's people, one's republic, and one's village or city.

I also want to mention the teaching of the ethnic languages in Russian schools whose students live in the territory of a particular republic. These kids absolutely must have a good knowledge of and respect for the language, culture, customs, and traditions of people they are mixing with. Otherwise, they are hardly likely to become internationalists. So I believe that ethnic languages should be part of secondary school entrance examinations. But, first of all, it is necessary to prepare good textbooks on ethnic languages, simplifying them and getting rid of extraneous material....

These have been just a few thoughts on essential, in my view, fundamental restructuring in our country's international schools.

Estonian Party Conference Platform Published

LD2306103188 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1600 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Summary From Poor Reception] Today the main stands of the Estonian platform to the 19th party conference were published. Prior to this, meetings of the delegates were held. The document of the platform is quite bulky.

It contains the following points: Starting from the 13th 5-Year-Plan period, to change the economy of the republic over to self-governing and self-management, with a law to be worked out to govern the relations between the union republics and within the union as a whole; the right to protect natural resources to be given to union republics themselves; to work out and implement a fundamental mechanism in the area of nationality relations, which would secure the sovereign rights of the union republics; to restore the Leninist principles which form the foundation for inter-republican and internationality relations within socialist federalism; to return to the Leninist idea of republican citizenship and of the union of equal sovereign republics; to condemn the mass repressions of the era of the personality cult, in 1941 and 1949, as crimes against humanity; to restore the full extent of power to the soviets on their territory at all levels; and to work out a new law on elections.

Tallinn Rally Backs Economic 'Autonomy,' Reform

PM2206095388 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 19 Jun 88 p 5

[Harald Hamrin dispatch: "Mass Demonstration in Tallinn"]

[Text] Moscow—Over 100,000 people took part in a demonstration last Friday [17 June] evening in Tallinn, the capital of the Soviet Republic of Estonia, in support of Gorbachev's policy of reform and greater economic independence. At the mass meeting in central Tallinn calls were also made for new elections to be held for the Estonian delegation to the important party conference in Moscow in 10 days' time.

Dissatisfaction with the actions of Estonian party boss Karl Vayno, sacked last Thursday, at a recent meeting of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee lay behind the call for new elections for the conference delegation. At the Central Committee meeting Vayno succeeded in having several of his conservative supporters appointed as delegates. Vayno's "coup" here was the last straw, according to reports received by HUFVUDSTADSBLADET.

At an unpublicized meeting with Vayno's successor, Vayno Vyalyas, the Soviet party chief told Vyalyas that he would now have to "take over" the Estonian Communist Party.

Friday's mass meeting in a park in central Tallinn brought together a reported 100,000 to 150,000 people.

The recently formed Estonian "national front," a so-called social organization formed to support political and economic reforms in Estonia in line with Gorbachev's perestroyka, was behind the meeting.

The national front also supports the earlier proposals put forward in the debate in Estonia that Estonia should be made into an "autonomous" economic zone.

Among those taking part in Friday evening's meeting, which began after the end of the working day at 1800 hours, there were also visiting sympathizers from other cities in Estonia, and also from Leningrad and Riga, capital of neighboring Latvia. One of the speakers at the meeting was Indre Toome, the 44-year-old secretary of the Estonian Central Committee responsible for ideological questions.

Toome was appointed to his present post as recently as the fall of 1987 and since then has shown himself to be a supporter of a radical reform policy.

From the speaker's rostrum Toome held up a hand-printed poster with the call that "the party must be purged," a reference to the fact that the party contains powerful forces with connections with the old conservative party leadership. Toome also spoke out in support of an autonomous economic zone in Estonia and met with storms of applause from those taking part in the meeting.

At the meeting the composition of the delegation that is to represent Estonia at the party conference, which will meet in Moscow 28 June, was also criticized.

According to reports given to HUFVUDSTADSBLADET, at the meeting of Estonia's Central Committee which took place a couple of weeks ago to select the republic's 32 delegates to the party conference, there was a list of 77 candidates. This list had been drawn up after lower-level party meetings throughout the republic.

At the Central Committee meeting two members called for a secret vote. However, former party chief Karl Vayno submitted his own list of 32 names—the exact number of delegates to be chosen—and proposed an open vote.

Vayno's proposal won the day and the 32 were consequently "elected." According to reports, it was this "coup" which led Gorbachev to react. He summoned Vayno Vyalyas, the Soviet Ambassador to Nicaragua, who had just returned to the Soviet Union for his summer vacation. Officially their meeting was about the situation in Central America and Nicaragua.

But toward the end of the meeting Gorbachev declared that he supported Vyalyas's candidacy for the post of new party chief in Estonia. At a new meeting of the Estonian Central Committee last Thursday Vayno was sacked and Vyalyas was elected his successor. With the change of party leader in Estonia, 3 of the Soviet Union's 15 republics have acquired new party leaders in the course of a month.

In May Suren Arutyunyan and Abdul Vezirov were appointed first secretary of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Communist parties respectively. All of these three new party leaders are "new" names with no links with the old party leaderships. None of them is even a member of the Moscow Central Committee, which is common to the whole Soviet Union—an unusual, if not unique situation.

Elsewhere, too, high- and medium-level Soviet party chiefs have been replaced at a rapid rate in the last few days.

Songayla Notes Economic Reform Problems

LD2306101588 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] The implementation of the economic reform is not going as smoothly as it should since it is facing numerous obstacles as well as direct opposition from conservative administration methods, especially in the case of all-union ministries and departments.

This is what Ringaudas Songayla, head of Lithuanian Communist Party, said in his televised speech to the Lithuanian nation this evening. He assured the general public that they would speak about these issues openly during the forthcoming all-union party conference.

Ringaudas Songayla's televised address comes exactly a week before the conference is to begin its work. It is also his first speech on TV since last December, when he was elected first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Among the 56 Lithuanian delegates to the 19th party conference, Ringaudas Songayla said, there were workers, farmers, scientists, arts people, and party and government officials. The nomination procedures proved that there were very many active people in Lithuania, Ringaudas Songayla pointed out. Yet it was impossible to include everyone of them as delegates to the conference due to limited representation quotas.

Songayla noted with satisfaction that several thousand suggestions were voiced in Lithuania during the public discussions of the party conference Theses. All of them, noted the first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, will be analyzed and put forward during the conference.

Having pointed out that there can no longer be any closed subjects, Ringaudas Songayla expressed his dissatisfaction with some newspaper editors over the ideological and qualitative aspects of their publications.

Protest Demands Ouster of Kuybyshev Party Boss

AU2306061888 Paris AFP in English 2054 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow, June 22 (AFP)—More than 10,000 people demonstrated in the southern Russian city of Kuybyshev Wednesday calling for the ousting of the region's Communist party leader, unofficial sources told AFP.

Yuriy Mitiyunov, a member of the Democratic Union party which was founded last month as a direct challenge to the sole legal Communist Party, said that according to Democratic Union representatives in Kyubyshev, 6,000 Communist party members had signed a petition about their demands. These also included the removal from office of local delegates who will next week attend a special party conference in Moscow.

He said the local people blamed regional Communist Party First Secretary Yevgeniy Muravyev for food shortages, lawlessness and a "critical situation in agriculture" in the corn-rich region. Mr. Muravyev was appointed in 1979, under former President Leonid Brezhnev.

Independent confirmation of the demonstration could not immediately be obtained.

Similar demonstrations have taken place in other parts of the Soviet Union, such as the Far Eastern town [as received] of Sakhalin and in Yaroslavl northeast of Moscow, protesting the choice of delegates to the conference which is to discuss the reforms being implemented by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Other delegates were chosen after the public protests.

Demonstrators Warned on Respect for Law

PM2006114988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jun 88 Morning Edition p1

[Albert Plutnik article: "Follow the Law" under rubric "Publicist's Notes"]

[Text] It seems only yesterday that sluggishness and inertia prevailed in our society. But how it has been transformed beyond recognition, how lively and animated it has become. You do not have to walk or travel far to find an example of this—to Sakhalin, for example—as sometimes it is enough to look out of the editorial office windows.

New forms of participation by the broad masses in the country's affairs are gaining a firm footing in our social life. The passivity which was a kind of defensive reaction to the negative processes characteristic of the years of stagnation is being replaced by an unprecedented surge of social activeness. This is very important evidence that our life is being renewed and represents the first fruits of democratic change. Everyone who is not indifferent to the fate of restructuring, its present and its future, must now think about how to cultivate this harvest and reap it in full without losing any of it at any stage.

There is a threat that some of it will be lost along the way, however. The point is that feelings run high when the public becomes particularly agitated, old dogmas are being smashed, hopes are blossoming, and new realities are being shaped. This means that it is now more important than ever before to show patience and restraint, strictly observe public order, comply absolutely with the law, and follow its spirit and letter.

However, facts of which the editorial office is in possession show that some organizers of rallies and demonstrations sometimes clearly act in circumvention of the law—at their own risk, as they say, or, to be more precise, illegally. They blatantly ignore what are usually the simplest of preliminary procedures stipulated in these cases by special local soviet decisions and discount the Provisional Regulations for Holding Street Processions, Meetings, and Demonstrations which have been approved in many cities. Disregarding the decisions of the local authorities on this matter is tantamount to an attempt to basically replace democracy with anarchy.

To all appearances, people to whom we give the blanket name of opponents of restructuring sometimes figure among speakers addressing people in city squares and demonstrators marching through city streets. Purporting to express general interests, they irresponsibly shout slogans that are more emotional than reasonable and insult members of the militia carrying out their official duty—in other words, they take a mission upon themselves which is clearly at variance with the aims for the sake of which these demonstrations are usually held and which, as a rule, reflect people's desire to show solidarity with the new course.

To act strictly within the bounds of the law is the primary condition which must be observed equally by local authorities, law enforcement organs, and the demonstrators themselves without exception. While justly demanding the strictest compliance with the law in relation to themselves, they in turn are obliged to abide firmly by the established rules.

I do not think that this condition is excessive. It has nothing in common with faultfinding, a deliberate wish to impinge on someone's interests, or attempts—on various pretexts—to deprive someone of the right to openly express his opinion on any problem of social life. Disregard of the law could cost our society too dear for us to tolerate this attitude.

It seems only yesterday that, with surprise and hope, we welcomed the first signs of spiritual liberation and a thawing of soul and intellect. But already we are being forced to recall examples of seemingly excessive "liberty." But no, we are not talking about free speech or the need to "tighten the screws": Strict observance of the law in no way runs counter to democracy and, what is more, democracy is simply inconceivable outside the law, which has been proved by the experience of the entire civilized world. We are talking about something quite different here. Learning to be democratic, we must remember how important it is to avoid gross errors. So that no one should think that the students—you and I—are simply incapable of mastering this science and, consequently, that the science itself is pointless.

Democracy does not signify the supremacy of volatile elements or arbitrary rule by all and sundry in place of the old bureaucracy's arbitrary rule, which has been rejected by society. When interpreted in this way, "democracy" undermines the rule of law and order and is capable of doing restructuring irreparable harm. Allow me to remind you that one of the aims we have now set ourselves is to create a legal state.

Shcherbitskiy Addresses Transcarpathian Aktiv

PM2106150388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Why Transcarpathian Oblast Is Lagging Behind"]

[Text] Uzhgorod, 17 Jun—The tasks of party, soviet, and economic bodies in Transcarpathian Oblast connected with improving the population's food supplies were discussed today at a meeting of the oblast party organization aktiv held here.

The report by G.I. Bandrovskiy, first secretary of the Transcarpathian Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, and the speeches by Hero of Socialist Labor M.Yu. Kozar, team leader at the V.I. Lenin Agro-Industrial Kolkhoz-Enterprise in Mukachevskiy Rayon, P.G. Levchuk, first secretary of the Vinogradovskiy party raykom, Ye.D. Tomenchuk, chairman of the Uzhgorod Rayispolkom, B.G. Boyko, chairman of the A.M. Gorkiy Kolkhoz in Uzhgorodskiy Rayon, and others noted that the oblast's agro-industrial potential is making it possible to improve the population's food supplies. However, this potential is certainly not being used to the full. The speakers thoroughly analyzed the reasons why the oblast is lagging behind in this important task and cited specific ways to eliminate the shortcomings. They devoted great attention in particular to the problems of backing up the work of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing and underlined the need to broadly introduce lease, family, and individual contracts and accelerate social development in rural areas.

The meeting was addressed by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

It is only a matter of days, he said, until the beginning of the 19th all-union party conference. The discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses, which set out the Central Committee's platform, is drawing to a close now in party organizations and labor collectives.

The party line of renewing all aspects of our social life has full, unequivocal support. This is the main, most important conclusion which can be drawn from an analysis of the discussion. People approve of the fact that democratization processes are under way in every sphere of society. The moral-political atmosphere is improving. The Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow and the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles have contributed to substantially lifting our people's optimism.

A characteristic feature is the growth in working people's initiative and creative attitude to their job, the speaker continued. This is particularly important in conditions of radical economic reform, which is already producing its first results. Analysis has shown that we have succeeded in overcoming most negative trends in the Ukrainian economy, as in the country as a whole. A great deal has been done to improve the financial condition of sectors and production units and increase the pace at which fixed assets are being renewed. Work on a general scheme of management of the republic's national economy is now complete. The role played by labor collective councils is becoming more and more appreciable. More than 24,000 such councils have now been formed. Responsibility for the state of affairs in soviets is increasing. Internal production economic accountability, progressive forms of collective labor organization, and lease, family, and other types of contracts are gathering strength; cooperative and individual labor activity is also developing. Enterprises and organizations which have transferred to economic accountability and self-financing—some 40 percent of the total number of enterprises and organizations in the republic—are having a growing influence on the acceleration of economic development. They account for some 60 percent of the Ukraine's total industrial output.

The situation in the social sphere is also improving. Capital investments for the purpose of developing this sphere are considerably larger than those envisaged in the 5-year plan. Targets for the commissioning of schools, children's preschool institutions, and hospitals have been overfulfilled, and the integrated, targeted program "Housing-2000" is being put into action. Services available to the population are expanding, and consumer goods production has increased. By 1 April this year, a total of 5,600 cooperatives were registered in the republic, of which more than 3,100 are already operational, and 70 of them are located in Transcarpathian Oblast. A total of 1,360 cooperatives are working in consumer services, 450 in public catering, and the rest in other areas. In the first quarter, cooperatives sold goods and services to the tune of R48 million, including R800,000 in Transcarpathian Oblast.

At the same time, V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized, the restructuring process in the economy is still moving too slowly. There has still been no radical improvement in the main areas of its development, despite the fact that preconditions do exist.

The party now gives prime place in its social policy to the task of solving the food problem as quickly as possible and satisfying people's need for valuable food products in the shortest time possible. In the first 2 years of the 5-year period, the production and procurement of most types of agricultural produce increased. This has made it possible to somewhat improve the population's food supply. Sufficient quantities of baked goods, pasta products, flour, groats, fats, eggs, and milk are on sale. At the same time, the food supply situation in a number of cities and other population centers remains tense. The level of growth reached in agricultural output is inadequate for satisfying the increasing demand for meat, some dairy products, fish, potatoes, vegetables, and others. What is more, production losses incurred during harvesting, transportation, storage, and in trade are still great. A considerable proportion of the produce which reaches the consumer is of poor quality.

The situation regarding livestock products is particularly complex. The measures being taken are still failing to produce the necessary results. During the first 5 months of this year, purchases in the republic increased in comparison to last year as follows: meat, by only 1 percent; milk, by 11 percent; and eggs, by 2 percent. In some oblasts, procurements have even fallen, and market stocks have been depleted. This situation is explained to a considerable extent by the fact that leaders of agro-industrial committees, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes and many party committees and soviet and economic bodies often substitute real organizational work to boost food production with formal measures and general appeals and have yet to shake off parasitical attitudes.

It is, of course, good, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee said, that the oblast has fulfilled the plans for the first 2 years regarding procurements of the main types of agricultural products, excluding fruits, and has increased output. But today the plan indicators and the level at which they are secured no longer meet requirements. This particularly concerns meat and dairy products. Judge for yourselves: Meat consumption per capita of the population in the oblast is in the range of 49 kilograms—this is next to last place in the republic as a whole. Transcarpathian Oblast is third from bottom on milk consumption. In recent years, the oblast has been in the region of 22d-24th place in terms of the output of these products per capita of the population. But still no effective measures have been taken to change this extremely unsatisfactory situation. What is more, the oblast has planned to purchase even less meat this year than it in fact purchased in 1987. It also does not envisage any increase in milk procurements.

Naturally, this is a disincentive for cadres, leads to an uncritical assessment of the true situation, and reduces effort at work. The result of this is that in the first 5 months of this year, market stocks of dairy products fell by 6 percent while meat stocks rose by only 3 percent.

The speaker reminded those present that the entire responsibility for the population's food supply now rests with local bodies. It is they who are obliged to find and effectively utilize real reserves to increase food stocks. And the reserves are there—large reserves. The situation in the livestock breeding sector was analyzed as an example. Last year the oblast produced 218 quintals of meat per 100 hectares of land. Not a bad indicator, you might think. But neighboring Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast produced more than 250 quintals and Chernovtsy

Oblast—280 quintals. The picture is similar regarding milk. Transcarpathian Oblast produced 795 quintals while Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast and Chernovtsy Oblast produced 1,050-1,060 quintals, or one-third more, although conditions are virtually identical.

So what is going on here? The main point is that work with livestock breeders is poorly organized, specialists work badly, and they do not really use their initiative. So basically there is no evidence of restructuring in this respect. Feed production and pedigree work have been neglected. It is no accident that livestock productivity is very low. In the first 5 months of this year, the milk yield per cow was 1180 kilograms, while our neighbors produced 170-250 kilograms more. The daily weight gain of livestock being fattened here is 460 grams, while in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast it is 590 grams, and in Chernovtsy Oblast, it is 670 grams.

Transcarpathian Oblast, V.V. Shcherbitskiy then emphasized, has unique conditions for producing various kinds of vegetables, fruits, berries, and grapes. Unfortunately, only some 105 kg of vegetables and melons are consumed per annum in the oblast per capita, whereas 125 kg are consumed throughout the republic as a whole and 137 kg in Chernovtsy Oblast. What is more, the choice of vegetables is limited. The demand for hothouse vegetables is met by only 50 percent. For 2 years, plans for the sale of fruits and berries have not been met. Another source of supplementing food stocks—personal plots—are also put to poor use in the oblast. One rural family in five does not keep any livestock at all, almost one family in two does not keep cattle, and one in three does not keep hogs. At the same time, the sale of piglets and young poultry to the population has dropped significantly. It is no accident that last year alone, meat production in the individual sector fell by 7 percent. Purchases of potatoes, vegetables, fruits, berries, and grapes from the population have also decreased. It is time to shoulder the responsibility for this work.

We are still making very poor use of Ternopol Oblast's experience of cooperative work involving public-sector and personal plots and Zhitomir Oblast's experience of developing rural farmsteads. In short, the implementation of resolutions passed by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers on the development of personal subsidiary plots in the oblast is clearly unsatisfactory.

The speaker also pointed out that the assimilation of economic methods of management is proceeding extremely slowly in the oblast. The cost-intensive mechanism has not been dismantled. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the oblast produce the most expensive products in the republic. The rate of growth in wages still considerably outstrips growth in labor productivity. More than half of all farms generate a profit of less than 15 percent. Some people in the oblast try to explain this situation by citing special "production specifics." But the reasons, of course, lie in bad organization rather than specifics.

This is shown by the following facts. For example, labor remuneration based on gross income (and this is an important cost-cutting factor) has been introduced at only 12 percent of all farms. Throughout the republic as a whole, the figure is 46 percent and, for the sake of comparison, stands at 90 percent in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast. The lease contract is used at less than one-fifth of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Only 25,000 people work on the basis of the principles of the family and individual contract. And this is in an oblast where almost 60 percent of the population lives in rural areas. The process of forming cooperatives and of agro-industrial integration is taking an unwarrantedly long time. The experience of setting up shops at industrial enterprises on cooperative principles is being poorly disseminated, particularly by the agricultural firms "Kolgosp" and "Prikordonnik" in Vinogradovskiy Rayon. The potential of kolkhoz and sovkhoz subsidiary industrial activities is by no means exhausted.

These are all substantial shortcomings in work and constitute major reserves. It was stressed at a recent meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with members of contract collectives and agro-industrial formations that the introduction of the lease and family contract and the development of cooperation are the quickest way to rapidly increase food stocks. The party obkom bureau must ascertain who exactly is holding up the transition to work under the new conditions and ensure that all economic units without exception begin to introduce lease and cooperative forms of labor and production organization.

And the last point: Last November the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers approved the "Integrated Program for the Social Restructuring of Villages in the Ukrainian SSR for the 12th 5-Year Plan Period and the Period Through 2000." In this respect, they proceeded from the fact that social factors have a determining effect on the galvanization of labor collective activity, the pace of development in the agro-industrial complex, and the entire course of restructuring in rural areas.

The oblast should also have done a considerable amount of work in this direction. After all, there is still not enough housing being built in many villages. A considerable proportion of them do not have children's preschool institutions or consumer services enterprises. Very few villages are provided with a gas network and a centralized water supply system. The result is that the rate at which people are leaving rural areas is accelerating.

We will only be able to solve these and other problems of economic and social development, V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted, if all primary party organizations actively restructure their work. At present, however, many of them are concerned with current matters and try to act as substitutes for organs of management, and they also do not know how to work properly with Communists and working people or solve real tasks through them. The restructuring of primary party organizations' activity primarily requires a radical change in the atmosphere in these organizations, which must be freed from excessive organization, indifference, and passivity. All conditions for displaying and using initiative and establishing openness and party comradeship must be created in every party organization. This is the only way party organizations will be able to properly fulfill the role expected of them—the political core of their collectives.

When broadening democracy within the party, we must not forget for a moment that this also envisages firm, conscious party discipline and a great sense of responsibility in Communists for the situation in their organization, collective, oblast, republic, and the country as a whole. In practice, this must take the form of intensive, coordinated work to solve the tasks set by the party.

This fully applies to party organizations at all levels in the oblast's agro-industrial complex. Many of them reconcile themselves to the fact that some cadres adopt outmoded approaches to the solution of the food problem and are sluggish about introducing intensive technologies, new forms of management, the cooperative system, and science and production integration.

In conclusion, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said that the tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee to ensure the rapid solution of the food problem are difficult and complicated. This year the situation with the republic's agriculture is turning out quite well. In most oblasts the situation in the fields is better than it was last year. And we must do everything possible to ensure a good harvest of grain and other crops, increase the output of livestock products, and improve the population's supply of all types of foodstuffs.

The resolution approved at the aktiv meeting outlines measures to intensify agricultural production in the oblast, accelerate restructuring in the agro-industrial complex, and improve the population's food supply.

Invigorating Party Organizations in Ukraine

AU2006150088 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat has examined the work carried out by Zhitomir Obkom to invigorate basic party organizations in accomplishing the tasks of restructuring. The work carried out in the oblast to increase the efficiency of basic party organizations was noted. In recent times, the Communists have increased their activity and interest in restructuring. This has become evident in the discussion on the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Party organizations have increased their influence on the growing rates of socioeconomic development in the oblast.

At the same time, the adopted decision notes that the obkom still has not managed to radically improve the activity of basic party organizations and to shift the center of organizational and political work to grassroot party links. The role of party meetings as organs of political leadership has still abated in many places, the reasoning nature of meetings, and an atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism have not been ensured. The adopted decisions are not being corroborated with concrete organizational work, and proper control over their implementation has not been established. Some CPSU members have lost interest in the lives of party organizations and have become inert.

There is much formalism in the selection of party members. In Korostenskiy, Ovruchskiy, and Narodichskiy Rayons, most applications for party membership are being examined at closed party meetings.

Obkom departments, Yemilchinskiy, Dzerzhinskiy, and Radomyshlskiy Raykoms do not take sufficient pains to strengthen party influence in production collectives under the new management conditions. The structure of party organizations is improving too slowly. In many places, cadre work is being democratized timidly and slowly. In a number of party organizations, Communists who are guilty of breaches and abuses have not been taken strictly to account. Insufficient improvements have been made in the forms and methods of ideological work within labor collectives. Internationalist and patriotic education is being conducted for the sake of formality.

Labor collective councils still have not been properly engaged in accomplishing the tasks set for economic reform. The contracting forms of work are being applied too slowly, and insufficient use has been made of reserves to accomplish the tasks set by the Food Program. There are substantial omissions in developing the social sphere, and primarily in implementing the program for housing construction.

All these shortcomings largely stem from the fact that obkom secretaries, department chiefs, and other party officials underestimate political methods of leadership, have failed to completely eradicate management by bureaucratic pressure, frequently set about settling economic problems, and do not give concrete assistance to basic party organizations, primarily to the organizationally weak ones and to those whose elective bodies proved to be unsatisfactory in their accountability reports on leading restructuring.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has obligated the obkom to take practical steps to eliminate the shortcomings noted and, in order to restructure the activity of party organizations more profoundly, to make use of the activity of the Communists boosted by preparations for the 19th all-union party conference; to concentrate efforts on thoroughly promoting democracy and self-management, on enhancing discipline and order, and on fostering glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism. While acting primarily through the Communists and while working among the people, it is essential for party organizations to consistently implement the clauses of the law on the state enterprise (association), to improve their leadership in and cooperation with labor collective councils and public organizations; to enhance in every party organization an atmosphere of openness, party comradery, collectivism, and personal responsibility; to cultivate among CPSU members the skill to criticize, to argue, and to discuss; to more boldly break with outdated attitudes and stereotypes; to check idle talk and ostentation by all means; and to increase the responsibility of leaders and Communists engaged in administrative, trade union, and Komsomol organizations for settling problems concerning people's lives, and for developing the social sphere.

Prosecutors Fighting Substandard Production

AU2006114288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Jun 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office"]

[Text] Compliance with legislation to prevent substandard production and breaches of state discipline in respect of supplies in the system of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Light Industry, as well as the state of Kharkov Oblast public prosecutions in this sphere, were examined recently at a joint board session of the Ukrainian SSR Prosecutor's Office and the republic's State Board of Arbitration.

It was noted that the Ministry of Light Industry, its associations and enterprises still had not fully implemented the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On measures to radically improve production quality," and legislation strengthening contractual, production, and plan discipline. Losses incurred in the branch from spoilage in production have come close to R6 million. Enterprises have paid more than R15 million in fines for substandard products. The enterprises of the Ukrainian footwear, garments, and wool industry associations are accountable for the largest share of substandard products and for more than 90 percent of the fines paid. In the expert opinion of the Ukrainian republic-level administration of the USSR State Committee for Standards, the quality of goods is poor mainly because of the breaches of technological discipline in their production.

The number of breaches of contractual discipline has increased significantly. Fines paid for arrears in supplies, for the failure to observe contracted assortment and schedules alone have totaled R65.5 million. In 1987, deliveries of goods fell short of the target by R134 million.

The participants in the session pointed out that this situation could be explained by the fact that the ministry still did not properly analyze the completed goods to ensure that the quality of products is high, and did not always reveal in each specific case why the quality of products was poor. Not enough effort has been made to restructure the activity of technical control services, and to set up quality groups at enterprises. Full use has not been made of legal measures such as fixed additional payments to workers for high professional skill, or the privation of them if products are substandard. The culprits do not always have to compensate for material losses incurred. The role played by juridical services in this respect is inadequate. Many labor collectives still have not created an atmosphere of intolerance to all sorts of breaches.

At the same time, it was noted at the session, prosecution and state arbitration organs are still not taking the proper steps to strengthen legality in the economic activity of enterprises. A check in Kharkov Oblast has shown that individual city and rayon prosecutors did not check sufficiently into compliance with legislation concerning the quality of products in the system of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Light Industry. Insufficient use has been made of the provisions of the civil law in the struggle against the output of substandard goods. As a result, the number of legal actions to compensate for material losses caused to the state by the production of substandard goods, as well as the total amount of fines have declined. The republic's state arbitration organs do not make sufficient use of the rights and commissions granted to them by the law, and do not properly analyze the causes of breaches of state and contractual discipline in the ministry system. Materials concerning the most serious breaches of economic legislation are not always submitted to the prosecuting organs.

The session listened to explanations given by V.V. Vilskiy, Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of the light industry, and to a report presented by P.M. Karkach, Kharkov Oblast first deputy prosecutor.

Measures were outlined to tighten supervision over compliance with legislation to prevent the production of substandard goods in the system of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of the Light Industry, and to make the work performed jointly by the republic's prosecuting and state arbitration organs to prevent breaches of the law, of plan and contractual discipline, more effective.

Participating in the session were P.G. Osipenko, Ukrainian SSR procurator, and D.N. Prityka, Ukrainian SSR acting state arbitrator.

Legality of Curb on Chernobyl Rally Questioned

PM2106113588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by L. Beletskaya, correspondent of KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA: "The Kiev Gorispolkom Deemed the Holding of a 'Chernobyl Memorial' Rally Inexpedient. Why?"]

[Excerpts] Kiev—April 26 is a somber date. A group of Kiev scientists and specialists applied to the gorispolkom to hold a "Chernobyl Memorial" rally. The gorispolkom considered it inexpedient. Why?

Here is the request: "We ask you to authorize the holding of a public 'Chernobyl Memorial' rally on Sunday, 24 April 1988, in the Park of the Friendship of the Peoples. The aim of the rally is to honor the memory of those who died in the accident, to pay tribute to the heroes' courage, to dispel the false rumors about the alleged deteriorating radiation situation, and to urge citizens to participate on a broad scale in the environmental movement. The rally will be held under the slogans 'Chernobyl—The Awesome Warning!', 'We welcome the elimination of missiles!', 'For a nuclear-free world,' and 'Greater glasnost on environmental questions'."

Then there were requests to the gorispolkom to help with the organization. And the signatures of eight members of the action group.

The initiative came "from the grass roots," as it were. All this should be welcomed. At last people's sense of civic duty, which had lain dormant for so many years, had awoken. They were realizing their responsibility for the future and felt that they, too, can participate in the solution or at least the disclosure of social problems.

But everything turned out differently.

Doctor of Physical-Mathematical Sciences V.D. Koshmanenko, leading scientific staffer of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Mathematics, says:

I first heard about the propagation of environmental awareness in the form of a rally from Academician K.M. Sytnik at an environmental seminar at the House of the Cinema. This idea, as a means of shaping public opinion, was supported by other speakers at the seminar. I am convinced that a rally, as a form in which the people can express their awareness of their own history, is socialist in its deepest essence.

At the end of April the scientists' group to which I belonged asked the Kiev gorispolkom to support our idea for the holding of a "Chernobyl Memorial" rally on 24 April. What happened? Each of us came under intense pressure to force us to abandon the rally for the reason that...there was no need for it. Soon after representatives of the authorities visited each of us and asked if we had really signed the statement and where we worked. Then the administration (on whose volition we do not know) summoned us for a talk and tried to dissuade us from taking part in the rally. Their main argument was that no one knows how all this end would end. [passage omitted]

There was no rally on 24 April. But, nevertheless, reinforced militia detachments were on patrol in the Park of the Friendship of the Peoples that day. On 26 April other people tried to stage a similar demonstration on the Kreshchatik. The militia had to make really heroic efforts to prevent it.

"Was the demonstration lawful?" a correspondent of the Kiev newspaper VECHERKA asked in his account of the events. His answer: "The very question is somewhat absurd because there is at present no legal act in the Ukrainian SSR regulating rallies and demonstrations."

The question is indeed absurd because there is a Constitution which, by the way, does not require prior permission to be obtained. Of course, the authorities need to know about an intention to hold a demonstration so as, for example, to protect public order. But it is one thing to give notice of a demonstration and quite another to ask permission to hold one. In the first instance it is the exercise of a right whereas the second is very similar to begging for charity. When will the golden rule that **everything which is not against the law is legal** [boldface as published] finally become part of our life?

Shevchenko Presents Awards to Clergymen

AU2106192488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Jun 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "Presentation of Honorary Certificates"]

[Text] On 14 June V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented honorary certificates of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to a group from the Orthodox Church of Rus. Those awarded in recognition of their active peace-making activity and on the occasion of the millenium of the introduction of Christianity in Rus were: Agafangel, archbishop of Vinnitsa and Bratslav; Leontiy, archbishop of Simferopol and the Crimea; Makariy, archbishop of Ivano-Frankovsk and Kolomyya; Archpriest A.N. Kravchenko, rector of the Odessa Theological College; and Archpriest L.N. Turunda, Krasnyy Luch parish superior in Voroshilovgrad Oblast.

V.S. Shevchenko warmly congratulated the award recipients and pointed out that the presentation was evidence of the Leninist policy consistently implemented by the Soviet state with regard to religion, the church, and the believers, a policy based on the principles of liberty of conscience and of authentic equality among our country's citizens.

Christian Jubilee Celebrations in Kiev

AU2206095388 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 16 Jun 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "Continuing Festivities in Kiev"]

[Text] The jubilee celebrations on the occasion of the millenium of the Christianization of Rus continued in the Ukrainian capital city on 15 June. The second festive day began with a divine liturgy in St Vladimir's Cathedral and a procession around the cathedral.

On the same day, Filaret, Exarch of the Ukraine, Metropolitan of Kiev and Galich, received the guests of honor participating in the jubilee celebration of the Orthodox Church of Rus.

The millenium of the introduction of Christianity in Rus was commemorated by a concert in the T.G. Shevchenko State Academic Opera and Ballet House.

The audience in the hall was able to appreciate the variety and artistic value of works created by the people over the 10 centuries. It was as if our contemporaries returned to the sources of this art. They heard the voices of various epochs, the latter's exchanges with the present day.

The repertoir of the metropolitan choir of St Vladimir's Cathedral in Kiev included works by the classics of choir music. The choir performed A. Vedel's "Oh Gentle Light" eulogizing the sun and everything that exists on earth; K. Stetsenko's "Heaven and Earth"; old and new choral music.

Works by the aforesaid and other composers were performed by the students choir of the P.I. Tchaikovsky State Conservatory in Kiev; the "Dumka" State Honored Academic Choir; by G. Gritsyuk, Kiev opera solo singer; and by the L.N. Revutskiy male choir of Kiev. M. Mussorgskiy's "The Golden Gate," and Pimen's aria from the opera "Boris Godunov," prepared by V. Pivovarov, were notable for their majesty and solemnity. N. Matviyenko and V. Boyko, solo singers of the G.G. Verevka choir, familiarized the audience with Ukrainian folk songs, and A. Solovyaneko sang solo in "The Blessed Day" chorus from S. Gulak-Artemovskiy opera "A Zaporozhye Cossack Beyond the Danube."

The concert ended with M. Glinka's "Glory" and Ye. Stankovich's finale which were permeated with the feeling of pride in the homeland's combat and peaceful exploits, with the grandiose spirit of the homeland's peoples heading for the future.

Donetsk Obkom Elects New First Secretary

LD2206182088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A plenum of the Donetsk Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party took place today. It examined an organizational issue. Comrade Vinnik, who previously had worked as obkom second secretary, was elected obkom first secretary.

New Government Appointments Reported

PM2106124388 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR (OTDEL PERVYY) in Russian No 18, 1988 carries on page 259-261 three resolutions on government appointments.

The resolution on page 259 notes the appointment of Ye.P. Zhevago as first deputy chairman of the USSR Gossnab. It is signed by N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and M. Smirtyukov, USSR Central Committee administrator of affairs, and is dated the Kremlin, Moscow, 1 April 1988, No 404.

The resolution on page 260 notes the appointment of V.G. Sokolovskiy as first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Control after being released from his duties as deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology. It is signed by Ryzhkov and Smirtyukov and is dated 14 April, No 464.

The resolution on page 261 announces the appointment of V.D. Shadrikov as first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for public education. It is signed by Ryzhkov and Smirtyukov, is dated 15 April, and numbered 468.

New State Commission for Arctic Affairs

LD2206150488 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—The USSR Council of Ministers has formed the State Commission for Arctic Affairs at the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission's aim is to intensify and coordinate scientific and economic activity of ministries and departments in the Soviet Arctic for the strengthening of the material and technical basis and further social development in the region with taking into consideration national security.

The commission has also been entrusted with the task of establishing, coordinating and implementing scientific and technological cooperation on Arctic problems with Arctic states.

The commission includes heads of ministries and departments implementing scientific and economic activity in the Arctic.

First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Yuriy Maslyukov was appointed the commission's chairman.

Laxity in Buryat Party Bodies Criticized

PM2106154988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jun 88 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. On Shortcomings in the Work of Buryat ASSR Primary Party Organizations and Party Committees in Asserting a Pure and Honest Image of Party Members"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has examined the results of the check carried out in the Buryat Oblast party organization on work to assert a pure and honest image of party members.

The decision adopted by the committee on this question notes that the autonomous republic's primary party organizations and party committees are not waging a tireless struggle—as demanded by the 27th CPSU Congress—for the pure and honest image of party members and are permitting serious shortcomings in educating Communists in the spirit of the strict observance of the demands of the CPSU Statutes, party and state discipline, and the norms of communist morality. There have been no marked positive changes in increasing the initiative and responsibility of each CPSU member and candidate member for the implementation of restructuring in their specific areas of work.

Many party organizations at enterprises and construction projects in Ulan-ude, Gusinoozersk, and Kyakhta and kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Pribaykalskiy, Khorinskiy, and a number of other rayons have not created an atmosphere of high mutual exactingness among Communists or principled demandingness and self-criticism precluding any possibility of violation of the norms of party life. No search is being conducted for new forms and methods of organizational and political education work. As a result some Communists are not performing the role of vanguard in labor collectives. Certain members and candidate members of the party adopt a passive position with regard to the strengthening of organization and discipline in production, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the safekeeping and augmenting of socialist property, and the assertion of the principle of social justice and behave unworthily in everyday life.

The decision emphasizes that 1,198 CPSU members and candidate members left or were expelled from the oblast party organization in 1986-1987. Of these, 220 Communists were expelled from the party for hooliganism, drunkenness, or moral and domestic turpitude; party proceedings were instituted against 269; and 630 Communists were dispatched to sobering-up units. Contrary to the demands of the statutes, primary party organizations and party gorkoms and raykoms retained in CPSU ranks 18 people convicted of criminal acts. There were many such violations in the Severo-Baykalskiy City, Zaigrayevskiy Rayon, Ulan-Ude's Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon, and certain other party organizations.

Substantial damage to the prestige of the title of CPSU member is done by cases of party organizations' unprincipled and undemanding attitude to Communist leaders who do not ensure work in the areas entrusted to them, embark on the path of deceiving the state, and abuse their official position. Of the 25 oblast- and rayon-level leaders who compromised themselves and were removed from office in the past 2 years, 10 have again turned up in leadership positions. Party proceedings are still often instituted against leading workers behind the back of primary party organizations.

Reliable barriers to prevent unworthy people with an eye to the main chance from getting into the party have not been erected everywhere. The role of party meetings in admitting new members to the party has been downgraded, extensive glasnost has not been ensured, and labor collectives and social organizations are not involved in this work. A questionnaire-based approach often prevails when admitting CPSU candidate members. In Kyakhtinskiy and Okinskiy Rayons there have been cases of people being admitted to CPSU ranks on the basis of two recommendations, with the third being issued by Komsomol raykoms after the decision to admit people as candidate members of the CPSU has already been made. No party proceedings have been instituted against Communists who have given recommendations for entry into the party to unworthy people.

As a result of the serious shortcomings in the selection of people for the party and work with candidates, 219 candidates have been refused admission to CPSU membership over the past 2 years, and many have been expelled from the party for improper behavior.

Party committees and their control organs underestimate the importance of an implacable struggle to ensure a pure and honest image of party members and do not rely on primary party organizations in this work. Preliminary examinations at party commission sessions of questions of admission to the CPSU and of Communists' personal files are often conducted hurriedly, formally, without a profound study of the political, professional, and moral qualities of those entering the party, and without revealing all the circumstances of their specific personal files.

The proper exactingness is not shown toward secretaries of primary party organizations with regard to the unswerving observance of the norms of party life when examining Communists' personal files or to improving the educational role of disciplinary measures. At the Ulan-Ude Instrument Making Association and Furniture Woodworking Combine and a number of other party organizations personal files are examined superficially, discussions of the misdemeanors and violations committed by Communists are attended, as a rule, by just one or two people, and workers, kolkhoz members, and nonparty comrades rarely speak.

The resolution notes that in the last few years not a single party raykom or gorkom nor the Buryat CPSU Obkom has once analyzed the state of work in party organizations to assert the pure and honest image of party members or taken measures to rectify the prevailing situation.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has placed on record the statement by Comrade K.A. Albasheyev, second secretary of Buryat CPSU Obkom, that the party obkom will take the necessary measures to eradicate the shortcomings revealed by the checks and will step up its exactingness toward party gorkoms and raykoms, their party commissions, and primary party organizations for the strict fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the provisions of the program and statutes on observing the purity of party ranks, for the strengthening of party and state discipline, for the eradication of cases of a liberal attitude toward those who do not value the title of CPSU member, and for the pure and honest image of party members.

A memorandum on the results of the checks has been sent to the Buryat CPSU Obkom for examination and for the adoption of measures to eradicate the shortcomings that have been revealed.

Party Conference Preparations Near Completion

LD2306105188 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—TASS correspondent Boris Prokhorov writes:

Last preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference to open in Moscow next Tuesday are nearing completion. Registration of conference delegates will start in the Kremlin soon. It is expected that the first of them will come to Moscow on Saturday.

Judging by press reports, delegations of republics, regions and cities were thoroughly preparing for the conference, took advice of Communists and work collectives, collected and summed up opinions of people whom they will represent at the party forum. There were no instructions in this process and, consequently, no stereotypes. Meetings were held in various ways, in line with local traditions.

In Estonia, for instance, there was a mass meeting of the public with the delegation of the Communist Party of the republic to the party conference in Moscow. As many as 100,000 Estonians who gathered at Pevcheskoye Pole in Tallinn, familiarized themselves with the platform of the delegation and gave it their mandate: Back in every way the CPSU's efforts on perestroyka.

In Turkmenia (Central Asia) delegates met with Communists and non-party people in some other way: All delegates from the Communist Party of the republic visited open meetings at local party organizations, which discussed the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Conference. Delegates set out their stands on the most important issues and heard opinions of people.

Thousands upon thousands of people spoke at meetings, in the local press, on radio and television during a broad discussion of the Theses of the Central Committee. Many made substantive remarks on the Theses and tabled specific proposals. Here is an example: Over 3,000 such proposals were made in the Lenin District of Moscow alone during discussions. All of them were thoroughly recorded and generalized.

Delegates from all Soviet Union's regions will bring these generalized materials to Moscow and will hand them over to the presidium of the party conference.

On the eve of the party forum the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences, held a mass poll in various Soviet cities, devoted to the study of public opinion on the progress of perestroyka in the country. Over 80 per cent of the polled said that they fully back perestroyka and three-quarters that they are confident of its success in case each person makes his contribution to the cause of renovation of Soviet society and the state. The results of the poll show unequivocally the opinion of people. To all appearances, it is consonant with sentiments with which delegates of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference go to Moscow.

University Conference Candidates Discussed

PM1706144988 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 22, May 88 pp 8-9

[Mark Vodovozov report: "What Happened at Moscow University"]

[Text] On May 15 REUTERS spread information from its Moscow correspondent under the title "Revolt at Moscow University During Communist Party Election." It says in part: "Communist Party members at Moscow University revolted last week during an election of delegates to a major June party conference on Kremlin reform, sources who were present said on Sunday. They said the hall erupted in a storm of protest when leaders of the meeting announced that University rector Anatoliy Logunov and the head of the University Party branch were the official candidates for the University's two delegates. Shouts of 'We want Gavriil Popov' rang out and the storm subsided only when his name was added to the candidate list. Popov, an economist, is a leading proponent of the reform drive of Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The election was conducted by secret ballot and Popov emerged as the strong winner, with more than 90 per cent of the vote."

About 3,200 out of the 8,000 Communists of Moscow University (MU) took part in the nomination of delegates to the 19th all-union party conference. The students and teachers of some faculties were not at the nomination of the candidates, because discussion of the delegates at open Party meetings and in work collectives was replaced by large-scale meetings of the Party committees. This procedure can hardly be called democratic. At an open meeting the Communists at the economics faculty adopted a resolution which condemned this method of candidate nomination.

It Is Hard To Learn Democracy [subhead]

"I'm not satisified with the pre-election campaign," said A. Nikishenkov, secretary of the Party bureau of the history faculty. "I think a mistake was made in the very procedure of elections."

"It is hard for us to learn democracy," S. Tumanov, deputy secretary of the MU Party committee, said. "All the Communists knew the materials of the June Plenary Meeting. The time for the nomination of delegates to the Party Conference was clearly set—April-May. But the Leninskiy District Party Committee of Moscow waited for directives from the city Party committee, and our Party committee waited for directives from the district Party committee, and so on. As a result, we had only two days for all the discussions."

The result of this clamour was that out of the 32 primary Party organizations, open meetings were held only in 11 (in one of them it was, for some reason, a closed meeting), and in 18—meetings of Party activists or large-scale meetings of Party committees were held. And two faculties—mechanics and mathematics, and biology—held their meetings later on, when the results of the nomination had already been summed up.

"Today not a single person at the University is satisfied with the nomination," Tumanov added.

Those who were nominated by the University probably feel just as dissatisfied. Both the rector of MU A. Logunov and E. Yershov, the secretary of the MU Party committee, are worthy people. But in conditions of developing democracy, the old order of nomination from the top was of bad service to them.

The faculties nominated, all told, 17 candidates. But the University Party committee "offered" only two of them "for discussion" to all the University sectors. The people who voted against the two, more often voted not against them personally, but against them as "designating a decision from above".

The Communists of the biology faculty had held their meeting after official nomination of the candidates from the University was completed.

"400 people got together, but many wanted to know what for, because everything was already decided," K. Burdin, secretary of the Party organization of the faculty, said. "However, A. Kuvayev, head of the organizational department of the Leninskiy District Party-Committee, who attended our meeting, assured the Communists that the results of our voting would be considered together with those of other meetings."

"What are the results?"

"G. Popov, MU professor, got the greatest number of votes, then—Academician V. Sokolov and E. Yershov, secretary of the MU Party committee."

I telephoned Tumanov, at the Party committee, once again.

"Can the newly elected people be introduced as candidate delegates to the Party Conference?"

"Hardly. The University candidates have already been recommended."

Candidate's Opinion [subhead]

We decided to talk with professor G. Popov about the information given out by REUTERS.

"During these days I was too busy and didn't go to the University. So, I'm no good as a witness. But I can still confirm that the information does not conform to reality in many ways. General meetings of Communists have not been held at Moscow University for a long time now—due to the size of the Party organization, it's just impossible. But neither was a conference held at the University recently, as alleged. It is true that my candidature was supported by several faculties. But it is not true that I was elected a candidate. The Party committee nominated A. Logunov and E. Yershov as candidates."

"What do you think of your name being nominated at some faculties?"

"The University is all for me. I studied here and became a scientist here. Thirty years ago I joined the Party, became a doctor of Science then a professor. I am a citizen and an academic. And if it's true that I really was nominated by the leading faculties—physicists, chemists, biologists, cyberneticists, historians and geographers—then I can only feel proud.

"I was sure that, sooner or later in our country, candidates would start to be nominated not as they have been traditionally, but from below. I tried to bring this situation nearer, through I didn't really believe that I'd live to see such times. apparently, I underestimated the mighty beginning in each one of us—the desire to be master of society and not just a pawn in someone's hands."

"What do you think about your name not being on the final list of candidates from Moscow University?"

"If I and other candidates like me got our names onto the lists easily that would create the illusion that the main problems of perestroyka are already solved, but the entire struggle is ahead and obstacles at the first stages prepare people for it much more than easy victories do. University means scientists, and future scientists. They all know that an experiment is rarely successful at the very first attempt. Success depends on the ability to analyze, to learn lessons and to repeat them over and over again. These lessons will be learned:

"The lesson in relation to the ability of bureaucracy 'to straighten up.'

"The lesson of not treating the election of a Party bureau and a Party committee as something scientists don't have to bother with.

"The lesson of being able to call Party meetings ourselves.

"All these lessons are so important that they overshadow the more persona issue of who will become a candidate for the Conference. Perestroyka can win only if we are all active. We're learning perestroyka. Sooner or later we'll learn to turn our majority into victories."

A. Bovin Opposes Third Term, Party Secrecy
PM2206155388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by A. Bovin, CPSU member since 1952: "Two Opinions"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference offer proper food for thought and generate an active desire to speak out.

I want to dwell on two questions.

The Theses propose that the term of office in all elected party and state positions be limited to two consecutive terms (10 years). We have been waiting for this a long time. But right away there follows a reservation. Election to a third term is possible, provided three-fourths of members of the party committee (or soviet) vote in a secret ballot in favor of a preliminary decision to allow the candidacy for election.

I am most profoundly convinced that to accept this reservation would mean to eliminate with our own hands one of the most important guarantees of the irreversibility of restructuring. Nobody can give us assurances that no party committee (or soviet) would produce a united and cohesive collective (not just three-fourths, but even four-fifths) which would, in total "secrecy," adopt the necessary and previously prepared "preliminary decision." Even if there were only a miniscule chance of events taking such a turn (and it is far from "miniscule" in reality), we must resolutely protect ourselves and do away with all reservations.

Another, and by no means unimportant topic also concerns reservations. The Theses correctly point out that an official of management organs subordinate to a soviet cannot be simultaneously a deputy of that soviet. This rule is planned to extend to members of republic councils of ministers and, "with rare exceptions," to members of the union government. I take the liberty to remark that the term "rare" has no legal meaning. While 10 "rare" cases may produce 1 "exception," 100 "rare" cases could produce 10 "exceptions." And so on. But even this is not the point. There is no need for any exceptions. Have we learned nothing from the bitter experience of the past?

Generally speaking, let us struggle for democracy without reservations, for democracy without exceptions.

It is impossible not to back the criticism of unjustified secrecy in party life, which is contained in the Theses.

In my view, however, the question must be raised on a much broader basis. The mania of secrecy from which we suffer is incompatible with civilized society. We make secrets of matters which can be found in open publications in any other state. For example, just try to address the Committee for Foreign Economic Ties to find out how much grain we bought from the United States and how much it cost us. Try to find out from the Peace Foundation what it has at its disposal. Try to explain the dynamics of industrial injuries or, say, suicide in our country.... I can suggest such hopeless "tries" by the hundred.

It is paradoxical and sad that every so often we "classify" and conceal information not from those who wish us ill, but from our own people.

But let us get back to party affairs.

On one and the same day, Central Committee plenums of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Parties dismissed K. Bagirov and K. Demirchyan from office "for health reasons." I do not know who specifically defined the degree of "glasnost" in this case. But I am convinced that a mistake was made. Because the more such "secrets" there are, the less trust will there be in the party and in restructuring. There is no room here for any smooth and streamlined phraseology. It is necessary to speak harshly. To demand correction of "mistakes" and punishment of "culprits."

"Unjustified secrecy" applies not only to facts and events, not only to decisions and paperwork, but also to people. Not so long ago, while speaking in Leningrad, I was handed a note: "Tell us, please, about the political views of Dukakis, Najibullah, and Solovyev." Somewhat amazed by this selection, I decided to find out which Solovyev they meant—Sergey Mikhaylovich or Vladimir Sergeyevich. The audience laughed. Yuriy Filippovich, they explained.

We all probably know more about Reagan or Thatcher, about Mitterand or 'Arafat, than about members and candidate members of the Politburo or secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee. What has happened to democracy? People who are entrusted to lead the party and elaborate the strategy of our society's development. And people want to know for what services they have been promoted to such responsible positions, how do they differ from other comrades, how do they exercise leadership, what do they think about the most important problems of restructuring, what is the standard of their general culture, what are their interests, and so on and so forth.

I have a simple idea. The party leadership must not be anonymous. Participation in "live" television broadcasts, articles in newspapers and journals (preferably written by the authors themselves), visits to party organizations, speeches "without notes"—all this would help to get rid of the "depersonalization" that is firmly rooted in the party. Especially now, when we do have an example. A major role in this could be played by regular press conferences with leading party figures taking part.

It is also worth giving attention to the repeatedly expressed proposal that sessions of party committees, from raykom to Central Committee level, be made public [sdelat glasnymi]. This means that newspaper, television, and radio correspondents would have the right to attend sessions. This means that stenographic records of sessions must be published and, in any case, every Communist must have the right to see the stenographic record for himself. This means that items like "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo" (and similar ones at rayon and oblast level) must be much more specific, informative, and meaningful.

More light! This is what Lenin taught us.

Officials Surveyed on Reaction to Theses

WA18000389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Jun 88 pp 1,3

[Letters from A. Maleyev, Moscow, CPSU member since 1965, and M. Amirov, director of the Belebeyevskiy "Avtonormal" Plant and deputy in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Bashkir ASSR, and article by V. Lichenkov, chief national news editor of TASS and candidate of philosophical sciences, and Ye. Dugiya, deputy chief of the Ideology Department of the Scientific Research Institute for the Study and Summarization of Practice in Party, Soviet, and Ideological Work of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and candidate of philosophical sciences, under the "We Discuss the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference" rubric: "Proven by the Progress of Restructuring—Rapid Analysis of the Opinions of Party Officials at the Rayon and City Level"—first two paragraphs are editorial summary]

[Text] The Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Congress have put up for discussion of party members and all the Soviet people even the fundamental issues of restructuring in the activity of party committees. How urgent they are is indicated by the results of the regular experiment in rapid analysis of the work style of party committees under the conditions of restructuring which is being conducted by the main national news editorial staff of TASS together with the Scientific Research Institute for the Study and Summarization of Practice in Party, Soviet, and Ideological Work of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee.

About 100 party gorkoms and raykoms in RSFSR took part in the survey that was conducted. The overwhelming majority of secretaries of party committees (more than 80 percent of the number surveyed) expressed firm conviction of the need for serious changes in the procedure for shaping elective party bodies and support the provisions of the Theses to that effect.

Certification Needed [subhead; Maleyev letter]

First I would like to express through your newspaper sincere solidarity with and full support of the proposal carried in the press about conducting an exacting certification of all CPSU members. I am deeply convinced that restructuring must be guided by people free of the virus of narrow-mindedness, bureaucracy, embezzlement, extortion, protectionism, by people with a clear conscience. But do all party members meet these high requirements today?

Not, of course, if we judge by how things are going. So we need first of all to purge the ranks of the party of those who are not on the restructuring road, of those who are in favor of it only in words, while in their deeds they set up obstacles.

I put forth the following proposal for consideration of the 19th all-union party conference: to supplement Paragraph 9 of the CPSU Bylaws with the following provision, which might be stated approximately this way: "A party member who commits theft, engages in speculation, abuses his official position, or is caught in other acts that do injury to socialist property and the ethical principles of Soviet society, regardless of past merits and the position occupied, shall be expelled from the ranks of the party and deprived of the right of subsequent reinstatement."

I think this would precisely meet the high requirements of our time and would correspond to the spirit and goals of revolutionary restructuring.

Under the Surveillance of the Masses [subhead; Amirov letter]

The Theses have raised the question of the advisability of setting up a system of combined social-state oversight that would be under the jurisdiction of the elective bodies of government. As a member of the oblast People's Control Committee, I have quite often pondered why our effort is not very effective.

One of the reasons, we feel, is that the activity of people's control entities is largely burdened with an "economic" bias. Controllers' attention is concentrated predominantly on quantitative indicators (short deliveries of products, falling behind schedules, failure to complete projects, and so on), and has little to do with the way things are done and the relations among particular bodies. Rarely do they go to the point of analyzing such adverse things as bureaucracy, red tape, window dressing, percentage mania, figure padding, crudity, callousness, uncivilized behavior, and so on, and yet it is precisely these things that are the first cause of everything. What is more, the activity of people's control entities is overorganized, they mainly act on orders, initiative from the masses is needed.

What sort of combined system of social-state control would we like to see? The main thing is that it must afford a possibility for will to be vigorously asserted from below. At an enterprise this might be a body elected in the plant conference and independent of the management, but also not a substitute for it, and it would be subordinate to the workers' council. At the municipal level it must be elected in a session of the city soviet and be accountable to it, not to the staff and to the ispolkom.

In our plant we have undertaken a sharp reduction of the number of controllers, leaving in the groups only people who are really helpful. We have established a procedure in which every people's control aktivist and every worker can go to the people's control staff and enter his warning, suggestion, or complaint in the journal or convey them to the person on duty. What is valuable about our practice is that when the workers take part the control group can verify and take steps in any of the aspects of plant life. Later, we intend to include sociologists and psychologists as group members. So that we do not evaluate the manager solely in terms of the percentage of plan fulfillment, but according to his skill in making contact with people and organizing work.

Proven by the Progress of Restructuring—Rapid Analysis of the Opinions of Party Officials at the Rayon and City Level [subhead]

"My attitude toward the practice of the present 'ex officio' approach to forming the elective bodies of the party," writes A.V. Kozachko, first secretary of the Yashaltinskiy Rayon Party Committee in Kalmyk ASSR, "is negative. Their symbolic members serve no purpose. We have eliminated from the raykom bureau the first secretary of the Komsomol Rayon committee and the chairman of the rayon committee of the trade union of agro-industrial workers. Nor do I think that there is a need for the third secretary of the party raykom to be a member of the bureau. Thought should also be given to the chief of the RAPO, who is concerned with purely economic matters...."

"One of the main causes holding back formation of an elective party body that is effective and works creatively is the present practice of subjecting its membership to rules concerning age, sex, social composition, and other formal criteria. But is it possible for an instruction to take into account the entire diversity of conditions in which party organizations operate at the local level? It should be left to the party organization itself to decide all matters related to forming the elective body." (A.V. Nesterov, first secretary of the Zayeltsovskiy Rayon Party Committee in Novosibirsk)

"As a matter of fact, up to now we have been held to rigid limits in forming the membership of elective bodies, and not just those in the party.... For example, in advance of the rayon party conference in 1985 the party obkom's organizational department set down the qualitative composition of the raykom: no less than 45 percent workers, 27 percent women, 20 percent party officials, and so on. It is clear that there can be no question of any democracy here. Sometimes it goes to absurd lengths. During the period of nomination of candidates for deputies in the republic's supreme soviet, when there were two candidates to be nominated, in addition to preparing personal files, photographs were taken of as many as 30 people for obkom officials to examine as to external appearance." (G.G. Makhauri)

The survey also exposed another point of view. Yu.A. Yermakov, first secretary of the Sovetskiy Rayon Party Committee in Kurgan, for example, takes this position: "The ex officio approach does not have the primary importance, but it cannot be entirely carried out. For instance, the chairman of the rayispolkom, the first secretary of the Komsomol raykom (provided he is a member of the CPSU), and the head of the organizational department of the party raykom must be members of the party raykom bureau."

"The membership of the elective party body must correspond to the qualitative composition of the rayon and primary party organizations, providing maximum coverage of the number of organizations, including the primary organization." (I.A. Korsakov, first secretary of the Zhdanovskiy Raykom in Leningrad)

The opinion of a majority of party officials taking part in the rapid analysis was vividly expressed in the viewpoint of V.V. Lomakin, first secretary of the Inzenskiy Raykom in Ulyanovsk Oblast: "A strange stereotype has sprung up—once you become a leader, then you have tenure in the elective body until you retire. The result of this is that many of those 'ex officio' aktivists turn into 'pillars of silence': they come to the plenum, they sit out the time required, and they cast their votes. They are not even concerned about speaking in their own party organizations about the problems taken up in the plenum."

An absolute majority of party leaders at the city and rayon level, as shown by the analysis, concur with the provision of the Theses on the need for changes in the procedure for forming elective party bodies, particularly emphasizing in this connection the role of competitiveness, broad glasnost in deciding on candidates, and the importance of the secret ballot in elections. The official's ideological, ethical, and businesslike attributes, his position on restructuring, the breadth of his views, and his thorough competence are referred to as the main thing in forming elective party bodies. "The main criterion," in the opinion of V.F. Osokin, first secretary of the Kineshma party gorkom in Ivanovo Oblast, "must be the attitude toward restructuring and the specific contribution to it."

The problem of the relationship between the party committee and its executive body—the bureau, the party committee and its staff—is also closely related to the procedure for forming elective party bodies. In expressing their reflections on this matter, many secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms back them up with specific cases and talk about sprouts of something new and interesting generated by the progress of restructuring. "As a matter of fact," says N.A. Shirshov, secretary of the Bessonovskiy Raykom in Penza Oblast, "in practice it often happens that the committee ends up 'at the beck and call of the bureau.' In my view, the way to break up this practice is for bureau members, including the first secretary, to have to report in plenums." "The first attempt to break up the practice of the bureau's guidance of the party committee is for the bureau to have to report on leadership of restructuring." (M. Barsukova, first secretary of the Yugo-Zapadnyy Raykom in Angarsk, Irkutsk Oblast)

"It is the role and activity of gorkom members that needs to be enhanced, not the role of the bureau that needs to be diminished. Not long ago the plenum met to hear the report of the bureau. I called a meeting of members of the gorkom in advance, passed out all the material and asked them: Tell us everything that you think. And the result was healthier than ever before. I got it good, and so did other bureau members as well." (Yu.A. Kuznetsov, first secretary of the Petrozavodsk party gorkom) "As is well-known, the bureau is altogether accountable to the committee. In practice it often works out the other way around: the committee ends up 'at the bureau's beck and call.' How is such practice to be broken up? The following steps should be taken to improve the practical activity of the bureau and to make it more accountable to the committee:

"1. Committee members should be elected in primary party organizations and nominations should be confirmed in conferences.

"2. In order to invigorate the effort of committee members specific orders should be issued to prepare a topic for the aktiv and the plenum. These orders might vary in their character: participation in the proceedings of commissions, an article in the newspaper, taking part in writing the draft of a decree, and so on." (A. Drachev, secretary of the Chaplyginskiy Raykom in Lipetsk Oblast)

Many of the party officials surveyed feel that for a time there has been a disproportionate growth of the role of the staff as an executive body to the detriment of the elective body. It has become established practice for staff members to attempt to take full responsibility on themselves, for all practical purposes removing raykom members from oversight of their activity and the activity of the bureau. Proposals have been advanced for drafting and adopting general provisions concerning the staff of the party body, to involve raykom members more extensively in preparing topics for plenums and bureau meetings and also in following up on execution of decisions taken. (Ponyrovskiy and Kastorenskiy party raykoms in Kursk Oblast)

Leaders of party committees have taken a particularly interested and concerned approach to problems related to the activity of instructors of party committees. "So far," in the opinion of G.G. Makhauri, "we have not been successful in making the instructor a really central figure of the party staff. The time has come to give serious thought to relieving him of his function as statistician and 'expediter.'" "The instructor of the party committee must be competent in all matters in the theory and practice of party activity, not a specialist confined to a restricted sector. He should not pass on a command, but motivate its prompt execution, foresee the social consequences of its execution and whether there will be favorable changes.... In my opinion, the very term 'instructor' has become out-of-date; it would be more correct to refer to him as the 'party organizer.'" (G.P. Dobrukova, first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy Raykom in Arkhangelsk) "In addition to the changes in the structure of the party staff that have been outlined, there should also be a change in the position title 'instructor' to one that is more popular with the people, for example, 'raykom or gorkom party organizer.'" (V.P. Solovyev, first secretary of the Chelyabinsk party gorkom) "It seems unwarranted in the meantime for enrollment of instructors in the Higher Party School to be restricted. Enrollment of this category in party schools should be expanded. And people should be taken on the staff of the party raykom or gorkom only if a recommendation has been given by an assembly of party members, above all by the person's work collective." (V.I. Sheretyukov, first secretary of the Novousmanskiy Raykom in Voronezh Oblast)

The 27th CPSU Congress set the task of delineating the functions of the party, soviet, and economic domains. The acuteness of this problem has also been emphasized in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference: "Party bodies have begun to take upon themselves more and more the actual solution of the current problems of economic and administrative management, taking the place of soviets and other state agencies." What opinion is held on this matter by leaders of city and rayon party organizations?

N.A. Shirshov, secretary of the Bessonovskiy Raykom in Penza Oblast: "For the party raykom to duplicate matters that are in the jurisdiction of the soviet and economic domain is holding back the cause of restructuring.... At the same time...the initiative for its preservation is coming from soviet and economic bodies, which appeal to the bureau (to the first secretary) of the party raykom their own inability (reluctance) to solve the problem."

A.F. Gordiyenko, first secretary of the Ivanovo party gorkom: "Why are party bodies forced today to intervene in all matters of the daily life all the way to hauling away trash? One of the reasons is that most of the people's deputies merely represent the people in the soviets, but they are not involved in the specific organization of things in their own districts. But the main thing probably lies elsewhere—today the people's deputy has the right to represent his work collective, has the right to put a delegate query, has the right to turn up in the office of any bureaucrat when he is receiving the public and to request something for his district, but the ordinary deputy does not have the real right to put pressure for the settlement of economic, social, and other issues."

Yu.G. Vdragov, first secretary of the Ordzhonikidze party gorkom in North Osetian ASSR: "The following are necessary if the functions of party, soviet, and economic authorities are to be distinguished from each other: eliminate the following sector departments—construction, municipal utilities and services, industrial transport, administration, trade and financial agencies, science and educational institutions, and so on. The following structure of party committees would be most efficacious now: a department for party organizational work, an ideology department, and a general department."

Yu.A. Kuznetsov, first secretary of the Petrozavodsk party gorkom: "The problem is that most of the city's enterprises are connected in their operation to Moscow and are not subordinate to local soviets. So, to influence them even through party channels the gorkom has to intervene. A procedure needs to be established so that everyone located in the area of a given soviet be subordinate to local soviet authorities."

G.V. Zdrapin, first secretary of the Yukhnovskiy Raykom in Kaluga Oblast: "We are getting away from taking the place of managers in the economy. That is simpler. It is more difficult with the soviets—they, just like we, are concerned with the social sphere, so that the functions intersect. The soviets are weak when it comes to financial resources, they do not have real power, they have to make up for it with the authority of the word of the party."

A.V. Kovachko, first secretary of the Yashaltinskiy Rayon Party Committee in Kalmyk ASSR: "We feel that the raykom and rayispolkom must be accountable for the entire economic life of the rayon. A cooperative has been created in the rayon for production and technical supply of farms and has fully justified itself. We decided to organize another two cooperatives—for the production and processing of animal products and products of cropping. Beyond them is the future. But they must be managed entirely by the rayispolkom and its RAPO. Our job is to work with people, with party members."

Many party leaders emphasized that the situation is compounded by the fact that all the higher-level party, soviet, and economic authorities try to settle all their matters exclusively through party committees. This case was cited: Even at the height of the election campaign the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR turned, for example, on all matters to the Nadterechnyy Raykom rather than to the rayispolkom. What does this signify—a lack of confidence in the capability of his own executive organ? As a consequence, it is reported from the rayon, certain responsible officials of the rayispolkom do not themselves even consider it necessary to take part in the voting.

The party officials surveyed feel that the restructuring in the activity of soviet and economic authorities is being hindered by the numerous instructions, prohibitions, cumbersome reporting forms, and so on. Quite often leaders do not display initiative and a readiness to take responsibility on themselves and wait for instructions and clarifications "from above."

Party committees are engaged in a search for new forms and work procedures. Their objective is in the spirit of the Theses to impart a strong new thrust to the revolutionary process of restructuring, to clear away everything standing in its way, to work out reliable guarantees of the irreversibility of the course towards democratization and glasnost, and under the new conditions to enhance the role and responsibility of every primary party organization and every member of the party.

Poll Shows Growing Doubt About Progress

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[Feliks Rudinskiy and Vadim Mazayev report: "86.7 Per Cent Pro, 6.8 Per Cent Con"]

[Text] 86.7 per cent firmly support perestroyka, and 6.8 per cent are against it, according to the results of a public opinion poll conducted this spring by Volgograd sociologists in 138 different locations in the Soviet Union.

This was the second poll of its kind. The first one was held a year ago. Below is a comparative analysis of both polls by the scientists who conducted the survey.

There Are Changes for the Better, But...[subhead]

The polls have shown that the overwhelming majority of those surveyed support perestroyka and believe that it must be developed fully in all spheres of life. Most of them said "yes" in answer to the poll's main question: "Have any changes for the better taken place in your work collective?" True, last year, two-thirds of those polled (68.6 per cent) responded in the affirmative, while this year's figure is down to 52 per cent.

The majority of people (66 per cent) participating in the 1988 poll saw the more tangible results of perestroyka in the higher demands being made on economic managers and on the work force as a whole, in better overall organization, a greater interest in work and in better discipline. A 22-year-old lathe operator from Roslavl (Smolensk Region) said: "Today there is more glasnost in our work, people have become more active, interest in social work is increasing, and labour discipline has improved." Another participant, a 30-year-old worker from Baku, said: "At our plant labour discipline has been tightened, the quality of output has improved and there is greater concern for our workers. For instance, a new canteen has been opened at the plant."

On the other hand, almost the same percentage of people (16.8 per cent and 17 per cent, respectively) said that they had seen no appreciable changes in their work collectives. And there was an increase in the number of responses like this one: "People are talking more than they are acting" (13.6 per cent and 28 per cent). Obviously, the number of pessimists has grown somewhat over the past year. We think that it is because our society has entered the second stage of perestroyka, when practical steps have begun to be taken. And as a result, some real problems ahve emerged: Resistance from the conservative-minded has increased, while certain rank-and-file workers fear many of the innovations and fail to understand them.

Glasnost's Effectiveness [subhead]

Most indicative here are answers to the following questions: How well are you being informed about the situation in your work collective? Are there any bounds on criticism, and what are some of the results? What hinders criticism? Of course, glasnost has a broader meaning than just that, but being adequately informed and seeing that management is responsive to criticism is far more important for the ordinary man than is reading about the most daring ideas, contained in some Moscow-based publications.

A considerable number of those polled (60.5 per cent and 58 per cent) were of the opinion that they were well informed about the state of affairs in their work collective. But quite a few (39.5 per cent and 42 per cent) felt they were insufficiently or even badly informed.

When asked if criticism was effective at their workplace, more than half of those polled last year (54.7 per cent, to be exact) said that it was doubtful. This year the situation was better—only 31.2 per cent thought criticism was ineffectual. One of them, a 23-year-old steel roller from Dnepropetrovsk, said: "I criticized our poor work organisation. But in our place, things go not further than words." And a 46-year-old female steel turner from Andropov (Yaroslavl Region) had this to say: "Our management's reaction to critical remarks was downright hostile. They started finding fault with the speakers. They would do a lot better if they made an effort to solve some of our problems."

Bt there were also opinions of quite a different sort. "No one is afraid to be critical in our work collective," said a 48-year-old dispatcher from a state farm in the Zaporozhye region. Said another: "I have made some criticisms, and my suggestions have been taken into account" (a mechanic from a building organization in Astrakhan). But more typical is the response: "Some of my criticisms and suggestions have been heeded, but they were received by no means enthusiastically"—an electrician from Sterlitamak).

The answers to the question about limits on criticism were, for the most part, identical in both polls. About 30 per cent said that nothing was closed to criticism in their collective, while 45.4 per cent and 48.5 per cent, respectively, thought that there were certain "forbidden zones."

To prove their point, everyone gave concrete examples. A 23-year-old postman from Moscow said: "We criticized the delivery department chief at our post office, and he was dismissed." A woman-bookkeeper, 48, from Kotovo (Volgograd region): "Everyone criticizes shortcomings and makes suggestions where I work, and no one is victimized for it." But here are some different opinions. A mechanic and designer from Kovdar (Murmansk region), 49, said: "No one pays attention to criticism at my place, and whenever there is some reaction, it is purely formal." A power engineer, 45, from the Chuvash Autonomous Republic was more emphatic: "I speak at our meetings, but to little avail. Those who are criticized try to put the blame on someone else. They are masters at shifting responsibility off on other people. Being called 'responsible' and shouldering a minimum of responsibility—that's a Soviet manager for you!"

As regards the fear of revenge, here are two typical statements. "Being critical is dangerous at my job—you may be victimized as an 'undesirable.'" (An adjuster, 27, from the Stavropol Territory.) "I am afraid to criticize because this will adversely affect my earnings." (A fitter and repairman, 28, from Novorossiysk.)

But far from everyone reconciles himself to such a situation. This is what a grinder from the Novgorod region, aged 49, said: "The top management at my enterprise accepted my suggestions, but the workshop management is dead set against them. Being critical is dangerous, but I go on criticizing, all the same. The workshop superintendent can't 'break me down' because I am a highly qualified specialist and am very much needed at the plant."

The 1987 poll surveyed 452 men and women from 170 various localities in ten Union and six autonomous republics. Of these, 42.9 per cent were blue-collar workers, 39.4 per cent white-collar workers and 17.7 per cent collective farmers. Half of those polled were people under 30. Altogether, 26 nationalities were represented.

This year's poll embraced 376 people from 138 different places in twelve Union and eight autonomous republics. This group's composition, with regard to socio-professional standing, age and nationality, was approximatley the same as that of the'87 group. Both polls were conducted within the framework of a research programme aimed at exploring the problems of socialist democracy, and organized by the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

'Roads of Restructuring' Roundtable Shown

'Unfulfilled Hopes'

LD1906230588 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0515 GMT on 14 June carries the 70-minute first part of a program entitled "Roads of Restructuring: The Years of Unfulfilled Hopes." The program opens with shots of Pushkin Square, outside the MOSCOW NEWS offices. The narrator says filming began in April 1988. People are shown looking at MOSCOW NEWS copies in display case, with closeups of pictures featuring Khrushchev in an empty field and a bemedalled uniform with the wearer's head and hands blanked out. Passers-by are asked what impression they have from the articles on display; several mention that the political atmosphere in the country has been enlivened. One thinks that the most important thing today is one's attitude to Stalin. A 40-year-old says he is now learning the truth about Soviet history: "Unfortunately, not everything was as they told us."

The title "The Years of Unfulfilled Hopes" comes up. The front page of PRAVDA, carrying a large protrait of Stalin and his obituary is shown with the narrator reading the first sentence of it. There follows newsreel footage of people paying their last respects at Stalin's lying in state, interspersed with personal reminiscences from a group of economists, publicists and philosophers gathered in the studio. Economist Otto Latsis recalls that he felt grief at the death of a great man; publicist Anatoliy Strelyanyy was a schoolboy. He says he grieved at Stalin's death, "but my mother laughed at me, because as far as I can remember, she never mentioned Stalin as anything other than a villain." A group of workers at Moscow Tires Works talk to the camera; a woman recalls that she wept sincerely, and that her greatest feeling of pride was when Stalin thanked her personally for safely escorting a wartime evacuation train. Economist Shmelev says he never heard a good word about Stalin in his family, and his death was a family feastday. Latsis says they must remember what they were like themselves at the time; "I think that in Stalin, in his policies, his personality, his behavior, his understanding of socialism and of our life, there was a great deal that suited the society that he was in charge of. Of course, there was a lot that was uncivilized, a lot of immaturity, political, cultural, social, and whatever else you like, and Stalin met with immense public response."

A clip from the newsreel shows Khrushchev together with Molotov, Bulganin, Malenkov, Beriya and other leaders of the time at the lying in state, with the 1988 narration: "Both those stunned by grief and those few who did not believe in the Father of the People's Happiness had one thing in common—how are we to live now? We knew these people, and did not know them. They were overshadowed by the giant figure of the Leader of the Peoples. Which of them would be able to govern the state after Stalin? Would there be changes?" Economist Saltan Dzarasov says Khrushchev was the only "star who burned with his own light" among the leadership of the time.

A newsreel of Khrushchev declaring the Stalin funeral meeting open, standing on the rostrum of Lenin Mausoleum, and Beriya beginning his funeral peroration is shown, with original audio. This is followed by a shot of the PRAVDA report on the July 1953 plenum's decision to expel Beriya from the party and then newsreel film of Kapitonov addressing a meeting at the Serp i Molot works in Moscow, endorsing the plenum decision to put an end to the crimes of this "enemy of the people." Another shot of PRAVDA's front page announces Beriya's death sentence and it being carried out. Newsreel shows a building being demolished and prison bars being fed into a furnace. Writer Lev Razgon speaks to the camera about the euphoria following the 20th congress and the joy that those released from camps, like himself, felt at getting documents annulling their unjustified sentences. He said he still feels, however, particularly now, that he cannot accept the way that no regret or sympathy was expressed in the official statements, despite the years that people had lost from their lives, and despite the fact that many, like his wife who was arrested with him, died in the camps.

Remains of a camp settlement are shown with the narration: "An end had been put to Beriya. But still not a word had been said about the person behind him. Towns, factories, kolkhozes and ships still bore the name of the Great Leader and Teacher of all Peoples." A PRAVDA report on the opening of the 20th party congress is shown and read out, followed by newsreel of Khrushchev opening his report. Over further footage of delegates stretching their legs in the foyer, the 1988 narrator says: "On the night before 25 February, at a closed session, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev delivered the report on the cult of the personality and its consequences, which opened people's eyes to the awful truth of the Stalinist times." V. Serikov, captioned as a merited RSFSR builder, talks to the camera about the reaction—one of profound disappointment, because people had bound their lives up with Stalin's name to such an extent.

Economist Otto Latsis and others in the studio talk about their feelings after exposure of the cult of the personality.

Latsis says: "We had to reconcile all this with our conscience somehow—what's Stalinism, and what's socialism, what's Leninism, what's revolution and what's counterrevolution, who's an enemy and who's a friend. All these questions were posed...."

Economist Gennadiy Lisichkin adds: "[Words indistinct] independent thinking...."

Latsis states: "From that day we started thinking for ourselves; we began to understand that our heads were stuffed full of rubbish, and we began cleaning up our brains."

Lisichkin then says: "Regardless of who instigated it. Those who prompted it evidently did not count on it, but everyone straight away gripped his head and began thinking."

Economist Nikolay Shmelev joins in: "Most importantly, two facts came into being; they will probably remain for centuries after Khrushchev's time, whether we think about it or not, whether or not we have rubbish in our heads, there are two facts: Stalin was a criminal, and there can be no other opinion, and second, thank God, we have been released, at last we have been released, how long we had waited."

Latsis continues: "Khrushchev could make appeals, could talk about crimes, but we were brought up in a Stalinist culture, a Stalinist consciousness, and with Stalinist ideas about everything—about what socialism is, what the plan is, what a person is and what society is, what contradiction is, what the party is, what a nation is, what the language is, literature, Zoshchenko, Akhmatova, theater, Mayakovskiy—all according to Stalin."

Shmelev says: "I remember all this time in a single block of sorts, and somehow, on the one hand, it is a feeling of not just a gulf, but of a huge intake of the breath of freedom, at last people's heads started working again, they started talking, discussing things again, thinking again. They are right, at last, in that period, we gained independent thought, which it was impossible to stamp out again later—it was too late, people had already formed their character. But at the same time, one has to be objective. There were a lot of bitter things, even in that life, and much was incomprehensible. Now, many years later, I can explain the contradictions, including those of the leader of that time; he was a person with absolutely good intentions, he wanted the best, but he was totally a product of his era."

Newsreel then shows Khrushchev, calling on the best people to come to the fore and help to "perform miracles over 2 or 3 years." This is followed immediately by film footage praising the efforts of farmers, despite "those of little faith and the anti-party group rejected by the whole population," to meet the party's call to overtake the United States in per capita milk and meat production. Publicist Yuriy Chernichenko in the studio recalls the enthusiasm with which his family went to work in the countryside in answer to the party's call. A newsreel clip shows Khrushchev inspecting a field of the corn crop. Chernichenko says that Khrushchev's ideas may have been well founded technologically, but politically he still thought in the Stalinist mould, and tried to force people into growing corn, without taking responsibility if it failed. He says people were not arrested for failing to comply, but they still suffered exclusion: "That is the most important feature of the bureaucrat—I give the commands, and it is you who will have to be responsible and pay." A pair of old people from Pskov Oblast talk to the camera about how it would have been a good idea to have some corn, but not on the scale that was demanded of them. They say that however bad the idea was, they just had to obey. A cartoon extolling the all-round virtues of corn is shown.

A. Strelyanyy in the studio recalls that he has observed that Khrushchev never blamed the war or the weather for failures: "This man had the sacred, sincere conviction, and instilled his conviction fiercely in his cadres, that all of our shortcomings come from the fact that we don't know how to organize, we are not responsible enough, and do not love our homeland properly. You understand? And then we had to live through Brezhnev and experience other things to value this in Khrushchev." Latsis recalls other ideas that came in with Khrushchev—that such a thing as a separate apartment, instead of 20 families sharing a communal one, existed; that there were other countries in the world. Newsreel film clip shows jubilant crowds at the Moscow world youth festival.

Over clips of U.S. warships and aircraft on the move, Fyodor Burlatskiy recalls the Cuban missile crisis, and how Khrushchev's idea of putting missiles there arose from a trip to the Black Sea, where Malinovskiy pointed out that the United States had a missile base over the water in Turkey. Burlatskiy says the affair ended with compromises—the Turkish base was dismantled as well as the Cuban one, and the test ban treaty was also one result.

Shmelev says that while Khrushchev was a clever leader with the best of intentions, he was nevertheless "anti-intelligentsia." Newsreel shows Khrushchev and other leaders viewing an art exhibition: The narrator says that there were also pictures there which "cause dissatisfaction and serious objections," naming some of the artists responsible. A group of art experts talk to the camera in a gallery, recalling Khrushchev's criticism of various "realist" works, and how the political leadership started in general to clamp down on the arts.

Strelyanyy in the studio says: "What was lacking in Khrushchev's reforms, what was lacking in him to keep him from going down in history as a great reformer? It did not even occur to him to abolish arbitrariness, lack of the rule of law, with legality. Even less did this occur to Brezhnev."

S. Dzarasov comments: "Khrushchev was released at the October 1964 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Why was it Brezhnev who took up the role of the then first, and later general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee?"

Latsis states: "I think that two things can be singled out from Brezhnev's actions. There were two motives in 1965. First, it had to be shown that the October 1964 plenum was not in favor of going backwards, not in favor of destroying what was progressive under Khrushchev, but it wanted to eliminate the errors, all kinds of wild ideas of his. And something positive had to be done. He had to show that he was continuing—for example, as early as 1960 the economic discussion had started after a decision of the Central Committee plenum in 1960, there was that and so, now here we are putting the decisions into practice. And there was also pragmatic factors, because the 7-year plan had ended badly. The slackening of the pace had already become very apparent at the beginning of the sixties, and things had to be put right. There had to be some reinforcement of incentives in agriculture and industry. In essence, there were these pragmatic tasks."

Brief newsreel footage follows describing the successes of the Shchekino method of enhancing labor productivity. This is followed by a former director of the plant talking to the camera about how such initiatives were not supported by the ministries, because it meant giving too much independence to people on the spot. Economist Sharov talks about how people proposing initiatives for better working of the economy were intimidated; they would be charged with deviating from socialism.

Brezhnev's voice is heard over shots of the Siberian landscape and the 17th Komsomoml Congress, urging young people to help build the Baykal-Amur Mainline [BAM]. A youth representative is shown pledging Komsomol support for Brezhnev, followed by film of young people heading east and starting work on the BAM. Kazakov, a secretary of the AUCCTU, recalls his BAM experience as an education, but he says, later one asked oneself what it was all for, was the BAM really necessary? A brief clip shows abandoned, incomplete buildings: The narrator says: "Everything for the BAM!—Can there be permanent residents where there is no permanent housing, or regular work? For whom will this land become home?"

Over a clip of oil drilling Lisichkin says: "Everything in our country is vast—BAM is vast, the Volga car works, KAMAZ, everything is huge. But who sets the goals? With hindsight, we talk about it not having been necessary, but who had the idea? What is the mechanism by which these goals emerge, the mechanism for the emergence of BAM, whose ideas wat is? We have 42 million hectares of land, for one thing, and there's diamonds there, and oil, they thought. But how deeply are we driving in the sickness at the expense of the reserves that we have? No other nation, (?such as) Japan, would have one hundredth of all the disgraceful things that we have done, and if they did it would all explode. And so this great patience, this reserve of strength that we have been endowed with has, it seems to me, worked in a very negative way."

Brezhnev is shown addressing a meeting on how the earth repays love, followed by brief clip from film for the virgin-lands campaign. This is followed immediately by older film of combines at work, interspersed with a still of economist Khudenko, with narrative telling of his outstanding success in increasing farm productivity. A farm cooperative chairman and an economist talk to camera about how Khudenko got good results by taking independent decisions, but fell victim to those in authority above him because they feared such independence. Stills of Khudenko mixed with shots of the cover of his criminal dossier, showing his case to have begun in 1970 and him to have died in 1974, are accompanied by narrative. "They dealt simply with Khudenko. He was charged with theft on a grand scale, arrested, sentenced and died in prison."

Brezhnev is shown touring a suburb in an open car, with the narrative: "It is known that Leonid Brezhnev played what was not the smallest part in Khudenko's fate."

Critics V. Laksin, I. Vinogradov and M. Khitrov and writer S. Zalygin are shown seated in the offices of NOVVY MIR. They talk about how the magazine had to stick to officially approved lines during the period of stagnation, because writing about realities was not required. There follows a film clip showing Brezhnev being presented with the Lenin Prize for literature by Georgiy Markov.

Burlatskiy states: "I have been told—I have observed some things, and some things people have told me—about how Politburo sessions, for example, went on, the difference in style. Khrushchev would speak first, right away, bursting out with his opinion. Perhaps it would be quite difficult for the others to make any objections, to argue with him. And so they would talk about some aspects, supporting his position on the whole—a plus here, a minus there. But Brezhnev was usually the last to give an opinion. He would be quiet for a long time, listening, looking to see whose side had the majority, and taking into account not just the majority, but the minority as well, seeing who said what. And even if only one or two people objected, he would often say: 'Well, the question hasn't been worked through. We need to think some more. Let's postpone it.' And so many issues, including major ones in our policy, were deferred, and lay in the drawer for a long time. Maybe that is where the stagnation began."

Artists are shown displaying their works in Izmaylovo park. A few of them are asked if they recall the "bulldozer exhibition" of 1974—they don't understand. The narrator recalls that a group of unofficial artists tried to stage an exhibition in 1974 on waste land in Belyayevo. A participant recalls what happened—bulldozers came and smashed up the exhibition.

The group of workers from Moscow Tires Works is shown again; one of them talks about his disgust at learning of the corruption that went on under Brezhnev. A young worker asks what on earth Brezhnev got all his medals for, followed by a still of a portrait of Brezhnev wearing a mass of medals.

Film clip shows several young soldiers in Kiev hospital, with an artificial leg on the bed of one. One of the soldiers is signing a song about the horror of finding himself in the middle of a war. Interspersed are beief clips of soldiers in action in Afghanistan and stills of grieving relatives.

Burlatskiy says: "Well, it is difficult to say what the situation in which the decision on Afghanistan was adopted was. I think that there was no serious analysis of the situation. Nobody really made a serious assessment either of the military situation—that is, the ability to solve this problem by military means—or of the political situation in the country. I think that the whole procedure of discussion of this problem excluded a serious analysis, the comparison of various alternatives, a study of the issue, in fact. The English said to me when I was with them, they asked us: We know what Afghanistan is; could one really count on using military means, and moreover very modest military means, to achieve solution there of (?profound) contradictions, national, religious and social ones, which of course cannot be cut like the Gordian knot? It is a historical process that was necessary to solve these problems."

Latsis states: "According to my observation, at the moment, when assessing the past critically, people express the greatest irritation and bitterness, the greatest critical fervour, concerning the time of stagnation. They talk about it more and in worse terms than about the Stalinist times, even though that was incredibly difficult, and in every aspect much more difficult and awful."

Dzarsov comments: "But the main issue is, how could it happen, how could it come about, in a social structure which claims to be the most advanced social order; how, in that structure, can there be a mechanism such as to permit all this and much besides? With a great people, the 100 nationalities of the Soviet Union, having an age-old history of culture and tradition, and united under the banner of such an advanced theory, how can it not be in a position to oppose negative phenomena (?in every department)?"

The program ends with film of a festive parade, and Brezhnev, Tikhonov and Chernenko waving to croweds from a mausoleum; fading to closing credits.

Changes Since April 1985

LD1606211788 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0720 GMT on 16 June broadcasts a documentary film on changes in the USSR since the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum entitled "Roads of Restructuring (2): April."

The film opens on Pushkin Square in Moscow outside the MOSCOW NEWS office. Yegor Yakovlev, editor in chief of MOSCOW NEWS, talks about the changes made in the past few years. He says: "First and foremost, (?you understand), the cahnge is that we have come out onto a two way street. That is, we understand that our democracy cannot exist with just joys, but only with great difficulties as well. Freedom of the press is not just a gift, it also means big worries. There is a great deal in our state today that I do not like, there is (?an impoverishment) that in no way pleases me personally. But I understand that I have to live under these conditions. Putting it another way, if we today end up in some camp, even the most progressive one, which (?seems to be) the cleverest, and it replaces the other camp, then the ("victorious) camp could hang on its gate a sing: Thank You, Comrade Stalin, For Our Happy Childhood, because democracy will end right away. I think that the most important lesson of these 3 years is that we must live on a two way street."

An unidentified woman says that people have started talking about their concerns, mainly about what shopping is like. An unidentified worker says that things haven't really improved for the consumer. Prices have risen, but other things haven't changed.

The film title, April, appears in a caption. The narrator says: "Spring 1985. The mighty April spring floodwaters have gripped the country. The ice of silence has broken. The people's right to decide their destinies and those of their land for themselves has returned to them. At the time, the diversion of the northern rivers had already been proclaimed the project of the century. But this time the mechanism of nationwide approval misfired. First to raise their voices against the crazy scheme were the writers, at their congress." Writer Valentin Rasputin is shown speaking at the Writers' Union congress condemning the use of the country as a providing ground for risky and dangerous undertaking, calling for opposition to the rivers project.

The video cuts to Sergey Zalygin, editor in chief of NOVYY MIR, talking about what happens when projects involving people's lives are not subject to discussion. He cites land improvement in Karakalpal ASSR as an example. "Who is to answer for the fate of a whole people, the Karakalpak people? All their land has ended up a marsh. In the desert there were oases, there has been agriculture there for thousands of years. Even the war did not undermine this republic. But once the land improvers, the irrigators came, they made a bog instead of these oases. One child in 8 or 10 is born with defects. You cannot drink the water." Video shows a village with large puddles in the street, people getting buckets of water from a standpipe that flows uninterrupted. The video cuts to a newsreel announcement of the 1985 decision to build a war memorial in Moscow showing sculptors at work. Then Andrey Voznesenskiy of the Writers' Union is shown denouncing the planned memorial as an ugly outcrop, a "giant black banner that will frighten our descendants for many centuries."

The narrator says: "By a decision of the party and government, the erection of the ugly memorial and the diversion of the rivers was halted. Who could imagine, even recently, that words are capable of stopping bulldozers, that what had been slandered and crucified would rise again, and we would get "Dr. Zhivago" not in samizdat, but in an edition of a million, and the exclusion of Pasternak from the Writer's Union would seem a terrible dream?" The video shows Yevgeniy Yevtushenko seated in a room, discussing the expulsion of Boris Pasternak from the USSR Writer's Union in 1959. The video cuts to editors of major literary magazines in a series of clips from video interviews. V. Korotich of OGONEK says: "For me, glasnost is simply a return to the norm, nothing special. We have already started saying it's some feat to print Pasternak, a feat to print Akhmatova. But what the hell kind of feat is this? The hero is the one who banned them; what we are doing is normal. Indeed, you have to be a hero to ban Pasternak in literature. But to publish this is normal. We are speaking the truth, that is, not anything that undermines the foundations. They still try to convince us that if we speak the truth a lot, then something will come crashing down in our country. I will be terribly glad if everything that collapses because of the truth collapses immediately."

G. Baklanov of ZNAMYA says: "Our task, through literature, is to help the party in what may the most difficult thing—changing the way society thinks. Without that, no restructuring is possible. And that is what our magazine is doing. We are trying to change society's thinking. What can we change it with? Only with the word of truth, in journalism, in prose, and in the magazine. Truth, not covering things up. A society that does not look at itself critically is an unhealthy society."

Korotich says: "You understand what it's about. We must have economic victories. We must improve the economy and feed people. We know how to do this in the Stalinist way, drive everybody with a stick toward the bright future. We know that if we build everything again, give people 5 years in prison for being 5 minutes late for work, and all that, well, OK, they'll do the building, the creating. But you understand, I don't want that, I don't want it. It seems to me that the main difference is that some reckon that in conditions of democracy and openness we will fall to total ruin, demonstrations in the streets and the windows of state establishments being smashed. Other reckon that is is the only way. For example, I think that it is indecent to march people along toward the glittering heights in a uniform crowd, we won't get there by marching. We have come to a time when we need (?personalities).

"But it is something else. The matter now is not one of literary polemics. Ours is a very disciplined country, and if everyone is for restructuring, then everyone is for restructuring, even those who fight against restructuring are also for restructuring. And so for that reason, the resolution of purely social problems is going on under the guise of literary disputes and everything else. And when, for example, we write that some writer has built a museum to himself, we are by no means opposing that writer, but opposing some social phenomenon that allows us to live like that."

Baklanov says: "All the talk about criticism being the ruin of our society is ruinous talk. We haven't even noticed that in this time we have become spiritually richer, another social climate has arisen, people are speaking openly and sincerely. As you can see, no foundations have collapsed. On the contrary, society is gaining strength."

Korotich says: "Is seems to me that the parliamentary mechanism in our country must be changed. It is a dreadfully reactionary idea, but I think that parliament should be semi-professional, at least, and I can't understand why it is that all the officials should be present in parliament, all the ministers—it's quite unnecessary. Parliament could confirm them in their posts as ministers, but as for automatically making them all members of the Supreme Soviet, automatically making a multitude of people who have no part at all in state administration members of the Supreme Soviet...[changes thought] I am a deputy of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. I very often don't know what I'm voting for. I vote for the budget; Chingiz Aytmatov wrote us a letter—he's been a deputy for many years—I don't know, for example, if I vote for the military budget. There we are, all saying together: it's the budget, allocate the money for submarines, for missiles, but as for saying it's umpteen billion, we just don't discuss it. I want to know. OK, we don't have a commission on national defense. We don't have one; we should.

"The Army, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, organizations that are not subordinate to public control, should be more subordinate to the Soviets, and be supervised by them. We should have some kind of democratic institutions, and then restructuring will be guaranteed, if we make it part of society's structure. We have not taken a lot of things seriously. For example, some time ago we started having demonstrations. I met one of the heads of our Internal Affairs Ministry. He was completely (?confused); he said the right to demonstrate is written into the Constitution, but nobody has taken it seriously, and I can't tell you where you have to ask for permission to demonstrate—Moscow Soviet, somewhere else, I just don't know. We don't have the mechanism, and now the mechanism is emerging.

"But the mechanism for these processes in our country has still not been fully worked out, and if now, for example, I speak out and allow myself to criticize something going on in the Army, what will they tell me? The Army is our darling, it's the defender of our ideals, so what are you up to? I also think the Army is the defender, but I think that if the defender is beyond public control, then it might suddenly start defending the wrong thing, you understand? So you see, some of these things are very important to me. Putting it briefly, we must create this mechanism. The party conference, as I understand it, must think through the mechanisms for intra-party democracy.

"At present it is easy to say that, formally, we are more democratic than anyone else, we elect our team leaders, factory directors. But where's the sense of it? The economic incentives mechanism is not fully worked out. Workers know they can elect their director. But they don't know what they'll get if they produce more putput, and if more is sold. If they know what they'll get for it, then they'll elect a director who will keep them at it. But there have been cases where they have simply elected the best boozer as team leader or workshop foreman, someone who doesn't do any work himself or get in the way of others. It is very important that the democratic mechanism be underpinned by the all the country's economic and other mechanisms."

The video shows an election in progress. People are talking boisterously and putting their ballot slips in the box, even though there is only one candidate. Various workers are shown arguing about the qualities of the candidate, who is shown sitting nervous and isolated in the hall. One of the staff says there is nobody obviously suitable for the post, and so it is just hoped that the majority will not vote against the candidate. The workers feel that the process is still democratic, even though there is just the one candidate.

Video cuts to economists seated in a studio. They discuss the government's economic control, saying in particular that the party should not interfere in the management of particular enterprises. Economist Dzarasov says: "We have to draw the line between party guidance of society and state power. We have seen them merge. But in Lenin's teaching on the party and the state, they are clearly differentiated. All power to the soviets—that is the slogan that people went into the revolution with. All power to the people—not all power to the party. What was said was all power to the people. And this is quite in line with the leading role in society belonging to the party, if you understand that leading is one thing, but power is something else."

Economist Lisichkin says: "Of course, it seems to me very important to separate state power and party power, so that we, both citizens and consumers, are defended by the party. At the moment, on the contrary, the party defends any minister, because that minister is at the same time both in the Supreme Soviet and on the Central Committee, and up until now he has been untouchable. The party has had to take on itself to cover up all his mistakes. But if the party were, in quotes, in opposition, and every (?minister) shook at any mistake, the party took note of every mistake, and it would, on behalf of the people, haul those who make the mistakes over the coals, then we would see the party as our protector, and not as something that covers for them."

They discuss the need to eliminate the many layers of bureaucracy workers and managers must contend with, then switch to discussing cooperatives. The video shows a Moscow pastry cooperative, where customers discuss the relative merits of cooperative and state run enterprises. Andrey Federov, chairman of a cafe cooperative in Moscow, is interviewed on his reasons for deciding to establish his cooperative. He says it was because he wanted to be his own boss. He then discusses public reaction to his enterprise, saying that some people resent his business and the money he makes.

The economists in the studio discuss the resentment phenomenon in society. They discuss the new Law on Cooperatives, saying the 90-percent tax on earnings over a certain limit is a disincentive to production. The economists end the program with a general discussion on restructuring and its effects on Soviet society. They conclude that it is necessary for Soviet society to face unpleasant facts. Dzarasov says:

"I don't know if I can talk about this or not, but what we have in Nagorno-Karabakh was not created by restructuring; but restructuring has made it possible to expose it, it has been developing for years. It is the same with many other things. Things are still smoldering today, the coals are smoldering that will make fire in the future. We musn't open our eyes wide in fright; we must look at all this soberly; life is life."

Paper Defends Printing of Anti-Semitic Item

PM2106112688 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 21 Jun 88 p 3

["Letter and Commentary" item comprising letter from Gans Tsoppi, student at the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy, and commentary by editorial office: "'We Germans Have Seen It All Before....'"]

[Text] [Tsoppi letter] In the 30 April 1988 issue, on page 5, under the rubric "More Democracy—More Socialism," I came across a reader's letter that upset and disturbed me. The headline proclaimed that it dealt with the lessons of history. The first time I read the article, I did not understand what its author, V. Samoylov, was trying to say. Only on a second, careful reading did it become clear to me that the author of the article, referring to German history and falsifying it, was propagandizing anti-Semitism.

The Nazis—the astounded reader suddenly learns—struggled very resolutely against theft, drug addiction, and prostitution. Then the question is raised of how Germany, in a historically short space of time, managed to achieve "such a level of mobilization of the overwhelming majority of the people, such a concentration of will and action." What period of German history did the Rostov author have in mind, specifically? He finally makes this clear with his next question: "What place is held among these factors by, for instance, the legislative restrictions on the participation of Jews in socioeconomic life?"

The answer, whether the author of the letter likes it or not, is precise and clear. Germany did not impose "restrictions" on Jews, the Jews were victims. The same fate befell hundreds of thousands of German communists, social democrats, trade union leaders, bourgeois democrats, Christians, and other Germans who held antifascist views.

This cruel oppression of the German people was accompanied by chauvinism, anticommunism, and anti-Semitism without precedent in their history.

Fascist chauvinism and contempt for people led to bloody consequences: the extermination and annihilation of millions of children, women, men, and old people, including more than 6 million Jews. Only the glorious Soviet Army, fulfilling its mission of liberation, was able to put out the furnaces of the crematoriums.

My parents, together with 46 men and women, were executed in Berlin 45 years ago for their participation in the activity of the antifascist organization "Rote Kapelle," and in 1969 high Soviet awards were conferred on them posthumously. Therefore I am surprised that a letter from a Soviet reader shows such a profound misunderstanding of the nature of the racist policy of German fascism. And is it necessary to print such letters, even if the editorial office does not share the opinion of the writer of the letter from Rostov-na-Donu?

Gans Tsoppi,

Student at the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy.

From the Editorial Office [subhead]

Let us answer the question "why?". "Under the rubric 'We, the Undersigned...' letters are printed with which the editorial office does not agree. But that does not mean that these opinions should be hushed up. After all, the sentiments of a certain proportion of people in our society lie behind such statements. Let readers analyze them for themselves and draw their own conclusions as to who is right in today's debates about democracy, glasnost, and socialism." Those were the words with which we introduced the selection of letters that included the letter from V. Samoylov, a worker from Rostov-na-Donu.

Let us say at once that this was only part of a lengthy dissertation that the author devoted to the defense of the "Pamyat" association, reflections on the pernicious role of the Jews in the life of various peoples, and so on, and so forth.

Yes, we were well aware that by publishing this letter, even in this abridged form, we would evoke the righteous indignation of those who do not share the author's views. And our mail did not include a single response expressing even the slightest solidarity with Samoylov's position.

We chose our German friend's letter for publication. Of course, our country experienced fully for itself what fascism is. But the historical memory of Germans, of the honest people of Germany, retains memories of that period of National Socialism when it still concealed its true goals behind fine phrases and slogans about poor, profaned Germany, about German patriotism, about conspiracies of Masons and Jews....

The world knows well how these speeches ended.

So why did we decide to publish Samoylov's views all the same? The point is that every time the newspaper has criticized various kinds of extremists (those who preach the ideas of anti-Semitism, Zionism, great-power chauvinism, and so forth), the editorial mail has inevitably included responses whose authors demand with annoyance and fury: "Let them speak for themselves! Let them have their say, and the public will decide who is right!"

After this publication it was clear to many people what the author was calling for with striking frankness. So why, when it is a question of ideas of a similar kind, but more subtly disguised, do we not display our principles and dispute reactionary views?

How many letters, for instance, did we receive from Minsk about the lectures of a certain lecturer A. Fedkin, who preferred to begin the struggle against Zionism by explaining the national composition of the Soviet Government in V.I. Lenin's time, overemphasizing the genealogy of Ya.M. Sverdlov and other Bolsheviks and Leninists, expressing concern over the conspiracies of "non-Russians," and so on, and so forth.

How can such revelations be tolerated by the ideological organs of a republic where every fourth inhabitant was a victim of Nazi genocide? Can you imagine a lecturer with such a program appearing somewhere in a Belorussian partisan formation during the war years?

But now, it seems, it is possible....

We should give serious thought to all this.

'Selectiveness' of CPSU Anthology Criticized

PM2006155188 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 23, 5 Jun 88 p 12

[Text] This fundamental publication was begun five years ago, and the final volume will apparently be completed soon. The 14th volume of the 9th enlarged and revised edition of "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the Resolutions and Decisions of its Congresses, Conferences and CC Plenary Meetings", published last year, includes documents from 1981 to 1984 bringing the collection right up to our own days. Up to and including the 6th volume (1985) the 9th edition was published under the general editorship of A. Yegorov and K. Bogolyubov; beginning with the 7th volume, the books are being released without mention of either the editors or the compilers.

The huge number of documents—nine decades worth—provides an authentic and thorough look at the history of the Communist Party, the revolutionary movement in Russia and at the economic, social, political and cultural life of our country. And a truly giant canvas it is!

Such a serious and fundamental multivolume edition must have a corresponding reference system. Unfortunately, this system could be better. And it is considerably worse than in similar publications that were issued in the 20's and 30's.

The reference material is mainly composed of introductory articles telling us about the date, the order of the day of this or that congress, conference, meeting or plenary meeting, and explaining its importance. Right away the reader notes that the "introductions" are nearly peopleless, with the majority of delegates, speakers and members of elected organs being rendered effectively "invisible."

In the introductory article to the material from the First Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (1898), it is said that the congress was attended by nine delegates, and that they elected a three-man Central Committee are not mentioned. Can it be that they're unknown? If I open the old, prewar (5th, 1936) edition, I see immediately the names of the delegates and the Central Committee members.

I thumbed at random through the volumes. Take, for instance, the historical meeting of the Central Committee on October 10, 1917, which made the decision about the armed uprising. The agenda is cited, Lenin's speech is given, the "strikebreaking" attitude of Zinovyev and Kamenev is explained—as is Trotskiy's erroneous position—it is said that the resolution about the uprising was adopted with ten votes for and two against. In earlier editions, we find lists of all of those who were present—Lenin, Stalin, Vritskiy, Sverdlov, Dzherzhinskiy, Bubnov, Kollontay, Lomov, Sokolnikov, Zinovyev, Kamenev and Trotskiy.

Then we come to the 8th All-Russia Conference (December, 1919). In current edition, we see only a list of the seven items discussed. But in the old editions, the order of the day looks as follows: 1) political and organisational review of the Central Committee (speakers—Lenin and Krestinskiy); 2) the international situation (Chicherin); 3) questions of socialist construction for the 7th All-Russian Congress of Soviets (Vladimirskiy); 4) on Soviet power in the Ukraine (Yakovlev); 5) party rules (commission report—Zinovyev); 6) on the work of new party members, who joined during party week (commission report—Bukharin); 7) on the fuel crisis (Rykov).

Taking the latest edition as a whole, we see that the speakers (except for Lenin and Stalin) are not mentioned at most of the congresses. At the 17th and 18th congresses, they are mentioned only selectively—Stalin, Vladimirskiy, Manuilskiy and Rudzutak while Molotov, Kuybyshev, Kaganovich and Zhdanov aren't mentioned at all. Beginning with the 23rd Congress (1966), all the speakers are mentioned in the introductory references.

This selectiveness stands out not only in the choice but also in the assessment of historical figures. Let's take the material from the 7th conference (April, 1017). The introductory reference gives the order of the day (without mentioning the speakers). It says that the work of the conference was conducted under the direct leadership of Lenin. "He gave the reports on the main agenda items, and drafted virtually all the conference resolutions." Then it says that Kamenev and Rykov objected to Lenin's report, declaring that Russia was not yet ready for a socialist revolution. It also says that it was Stalin who gave the report on the national question. "Pyatakov gave a co-report. He proposed rejecting the Bolshevik demand for the right of nations to self-determination all the way to cessation. The conference rejected the anti-Leninist, opportunistic line of Pyatakov, and adopted a resolution written by Lenin instead." It is mentioned as well that Zinovyev spoke against Lenin's proposal on the immediate organziation of a new, Communist International.

As a result, the reader won't learn a number of important facts about the conference: that Nogin reported on two questions—on the peace conference and on the attitude toward the Soviets; Zinovyev—on the situation in the international; and that Kamenev made a co-report after Lenin. The introductory reference mentions only the speakers who were criticized by Lenin or Stalin, and is sharply biased towards Kamenev, Zinovyev, Pyatakov and Rykov, which makes the coverage of the conference rather one-sided.

And one more example. In connection with the 6th party congress (1917), only Stalin is mentioned as a speaker, and the following statement is made: "The congress delegates rejected the erroneous idea, put forth by Bukharin, that the peasants are allegedly in a bloc with the bourgeoisie and won't follow the working class; they criticized his views in detail, as well as the declarations by Angarskiy and Preobrazhenskiy, who expressed doubt in the possibility of a victorious socialist revolution in Russia...."

Meanwhile, earlier publications of CPSU documents say that reports at the congress were also made by Sverdlov, Bukharin, Milyutin, Yurenev, Glebov-Avilov, Skrypnik, Ordzhonikidze, section representatives Podbelskiy, Kharitonov and Shumyatskiy.

Let's note one more circumstance. The early editions of congress documents and conferences printed a list of the Central Committee members elected at the various congresses. In the current publication, however, the Central Committee members aren't listed for any of the congresses. But the election of the Central Committee members is a decision made at the congress. The very title of the edition itself demands that the list of the Central Committee members be printed where appropriate.

The earlier publications contained material from post-congress plenary meetings (beginning with the 13th congress in 1924), which elected the administrative organs—the Polibureau, the Organizational Bureau and the Secretariat. In the present edition, information about the plenary meetings where administrative organs were elected appear only from the 23rd congress (1966) on.

All of this just shows that the names of many Communists who built the foundation of our party, but later were subjected to repressions or harsh criticism, have simply been taken out of circulation.

A few words about the selection of documents. The new edition prints not only the resoltuions of the plenary meetings, but also the current resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee. This was also done in former editions. However, some well-known resolutions printed in the past were not included in the current edition. And the criteria for the selection are neither explained, nor do they seem to be based on anything. Many documents are printed "in fragments" without any explanations as to what was omitted and why.

The preface to the new edition says that it was "prepared by taking into account the accumulated experience of document publication and the modern demands of historical-party science and historiography". But, obviously, not all accumulated experience can be deemed beneficial.

Appeal for Monument to Victims of Stalinism

LD2206170388 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—About thirty thousand people in thirty Soviet cities have signed an appeal to the 19th party conference, calling for the creation of a memorial in the capital to honour victims of Stalinism.

The appeal was signed by famous writers and poets, including Sergey Zalygin, Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, Vitaliy Korotich, Academician Boris Raushenbakh and other prominent Soviet intellectuals, Yuriy Samodurov, a geologist who represented the group calling itself "Memorial," told a briefing at the NOVOSTI Press Agency today.

"The memorial will immortalise people's grief and memory about millions of compatriots who had been subjected to groundless repressions and would exonerate them politically," said Samodurov.

"It will also become an effective factor to democratising the life of society and enhancing trust of other countries in the initiatives of the Soviet state directed at building a non-violent world."

The memorial complex is to include a monument and an education centre complete with archives, a museum and a library.

They are to provide information on people repressed in the Stalin times and help conduct research to determine who and with regard to whom perpetrated violations of democratic norms.

"Such materials would help introduce new legal self-consciousness and educate citizens in the spirit of intolerance towards the evil and towards violence," Samodurov pointed out.

He expressed the hope that a special account would be opened at the State Bank of the USSR after the party conference to which citizens and work collectives could send their donations.

Stalin's 'Criminal Passiveness' in War Noted

LD2206183588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 22 Jun 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Igor Fesunenko]

[Text] Today is not quite an ordinary day, although it is not a red letter day. Like a festering wound it is cut into our memory, our hearts, and our souls. It was 47 years ago—nearly half a century has passed since the tragic moment when at 0400 Zhukov telephoned Stalin and told him of the bombing of Kiev, Minsk, and Vilnius, and the country was swept by a chain reaction of anger, horror, patriotic fervor and tears, dismay and resoluteness. For those who experienced that day, all this is as real as if it were yesterday, and I, like all my peers who were little children on that day, I remember, we all remember the tears of our mother, the pallor of our father, and the first bombs which started falling on our Ukrainian city [video shows archive footage of bombing], and the hunt for spies, real and imaginary, which was unleashed in our country at that time, and many other things which will never be forgotten whatever else we might live through.

Our "World Today" program has been in existence for nearly 10 years, in November we commemorate its 10th anniversary in fact, and every one of us who conducts, whoever has had this slot on this day, 22 June, over all these years has been obliged to remember the lessons of the Great Patriotic War and to note the eternal remembrance of the heroes who fell in fighting for the homeland and our immeasurable respect for all the veterans, the sacrifices borne by our people and the joy of victory bought at such a price.

Today we might have done similarly, remembering the fallen, again we might have pronounced our abhorrence of fascism and pleaded that the past should never be repeated. You know, I don't want to take that well-worn path today on the eve of the 19th party conference, at a time when we are all specially impatient of the cliche, the empty slogan, the well-tried stock-phrase.

Instead of again repeating the tragic figure of 20 million victims—incidentally, it is quite possibly an underestimate—I want to ask once more, would there really have been so many victims of the war if it were not for the treacherous felling of the best Army, government, and party cadres, especially those of the Army, at the end of the thirties. [video shows stills of Tukhachevskiy, Yakir, Uborevich, Kork, Eydeman, Feldman, Primakov, and Putna] Were it not for the criminal passiveness of Stalin, who would not heed the warnings of Hitler's schemes that were literally pouring into Moscow in 1940 and the beginning of 1941.

In October 1941 when the fascists stood at the gates of Moscow and Leningrad the terrible mill continued to grind the victims of Stalin's terror. Twenty-five of the best commanders and commissars of the Red Army—the best—were shot by Beriya, who had hidden in the rear and was killing his own with a zeal comparable to that of the Gestapo.

Military Prosecutor Boris Viktorov recalled how the investigators involved in the work of rehabilitating the Red commanders who fell victim to Stalin's tyranny and terror came across one of the interrogators who had tortured our totally innocent commanders and commissars, getting them charged under false confessions and self-accusations. Consequently this interrogator left office and found himself a good job somewhere else. Boris Viktorov wrote concerning this that in view of the expiry of the statute of limitation this interrogator could not now be prosecuted.

And so a logical question arises: Why is there a statute of limitation for these terrible crimes, like for anyone who, say, steals a purse or beats up his neighbor in a drunken brawl? There is no statute of limitation for war criminals, or for high treason, so why is there one for traitors who shot their own people, who tortured honest Soviet people? How can the statute of limitation be kept for them? Are they not traitors of the homeland?

Economic

'Major Overhaul' of Financial Autonomy Advocated

LD2006214288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 20 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; unidentified correspondent's video report from Krasnyy Oktyabr Metallurgical Works in Volgograd]

[Text] Why is financial autonomy not working to the full? We now present a report from Volgograd:

[Correspondent] There is a clock whose mechanisms have already been working for more than 100 years at the Astrakhan Kremlin. [video shows workings of big clock; then open-hearth furnaces in operation and construction site at Volgograd Krasnyy Oktyabr Metallurgical Works] As specialists have stated, it will continue to work for the same period; it just needs periodic cleaning and lubrication. But what is suitable for a clock is no good at all for the equipment that has already been in operation for decades at the Krasnyy Oktyabr Metallurgical Works. It would seem that financial autonomy and self-financing ought to help the enterprise to settle its accounts with the old equipment. But just as there have been no funds for this, nor are there now. The famous slogan that financial autonomy brought with it—work well and you'll earn well—is not so far justifying itself, because people want not just to work well, but also to work in normal conditions. But in the open-hearth furnaces, for example, the temperature reaches 60 degrees and more in the summer. Next door, the building for a new and powerful mill 2000 [as heard] is being erected. This project is subsidized by the ministry. The mill is supposed to produce its first output in the fall, but who will work on it is not yet clear. Last year, more than 500 people left the works. This year another 300 have gone, and there is virtually no influx of new cadres:

[Begin recording] [Works Chief Economist V.M. Strelnikov, identified by caption] Why? Because the mechanism of economic interest is not working. What are we promised? We are promised that 70 percent of above-plan profit will remain at the disposal of the enterprise according to the results for the year. But that is according to the year's results. What do we have at present? At present, we get 5 kopecks from every ruble of above-plan profit for the material incentives fund. You must agree, that is nothing.

[Chairman of Works Council V.M. Pavlov, identified by caption] They have raised the wage-rates and reduced the bonuses, so there is a gain of R2 or R3, maybe R5 at most. What do we get now, with the new wage system? They are giving rise to idlers, absolute idlers.

[Strelnikov] What do I propose? The labor collective should be given the right to distribute those 70 percent itself between the three funds and not in proportion, as is normally accepted. I don't think we would display grabbers' interest in this, since the metallurgists' total pay in such conditions is R235 a month. [end recording]

[Correspondent] In short, it is a closed circle. In order to solve the cadres problem, they need the labor conditions and personal interest. Technical reequipment is necessary for that. And that requires money, for the earning of which there are less and less people. And while care and attention is enough for an ancient clock, in order for financial autonomy to start working properly, mere cleaning and lubrication is not enough; what is needed here is a major overhaul of the whole mechanism.

Georgian Party Chief Discusses Restructuring

PM2206151988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Jun 88 p 1

[Interview with D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, by correspondent O. Chikhladze under the rubric "Topical Subject": "By Overcoming"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Chikhladze] Research by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Center for Public Opinion has shown that people consider restructuring in the economy a paramount task. How is this process developing?

[Patiashvili] It is impossible to give an unequivocal answer. We analyzed the situation at a recent Central Committee plenum. It was pointed out that certain changes have been achieved in socioeconomic development since the start of the 5-year plan. And more tangible progress has become apparent this year. For the first time in a long while, the entire increase in national income so far this year has been secured thanks to increased labor productivity, and industrial production growth has been achieved with a reduction in the number of workers. The transfer of enterprises to self-financing and self-recoupment is having a positive effect. The growth in their production volume and labor productivity since the beginning of the year is greater than the average for industry. We have at last gotten really close to the average union level for observance of contract discipline. The percentage fulfillment of the profit plan has increased appreciably for the first time in recent years. I could name other positive aspects, but the dynamics of socioeconomic development as a whole is unstable.

[Chikhladze] To the difficulties of the transition period, which are the same for our whole country, and to the heavy burden of the past, it is evidently legitimate, is it not, also to add those difficulties of a regional nature, and in particular the cutback in the wine-making industry, which has resulted in substantial changes in the structure of processing enterprises in the agro-industrial complex with all the ensuing consequences, or to add the damage done to the republic by the raging elements last year?

[Patiashvili] That cannot be denied, but the causes lie deeper. They are shown in the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The contradictory nature of the restructuring process lies in the very struggle between the new and the old, in overcoming the survivals of a conservative, bureaucratic consciousness which have proved particularly tenacious of life. On the one hand, a radical economic reform is being implemented while, on the other, backwardness of thinking, the desire to cling to the customary means and methods, and even overt administrative diktat, which ignores economic laws, still exist. More than 70 percent of workers in the republic's industry are covered by the team form of labor organization, and more than 45 percent of them work in economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] teams. These indicators are still higher in agriculture and construction. And the result? The return is very modest. It turns out that bureaucrats have been in a hurry to report back, without bothering to introduce real economic accountability.

Some people are evidently clinging to the naive idea that restructuring is just another campaign. And the calculations of those few, yet noisy, "restructurers" who parasitize on democratic processes and glasnost and try to fan unhealthy, arrogant passions in certain sections of young people are in vain. They even issue "prescriptions" for the future of Georgia, "forgetting" that pluralism of opinions and any discussions are fruitful on the soil of socialism and in the name of socialism. The people are sensitive to falsehood and react correctly to such manifestations. So, despite all the complexities, the process of renewal is gradually gathering momentum thanks precisely to the efforts of labor collectives and people's increased social activeness.

[Chikhladze] Which specific economic difficulties arouse particularly great concern?

[Patiashvili] The income-expenditure gap [razryv v oborotnykh sredstvakh] is being reduced only slowly, and nonpayments and above-normative residues of commodity stocks have once again increased. There are shortfalls in deliveries of output from many enterprises of the republic Ministries of Light Industry, the Construction Materials Industry, and Local Industry and the Gosagroprom. Incidentally, the fulfillment of contract pledges and the profit plan is below the average republic level at enterprises of union subordination. The state of affairs in construction, trade, and the services sphere also cannot satisfy. There is still a strained situation in monetary circulation. Cash collection was tens of millions of rubles short over the 5 months. And this is a very serious problem.

On the way to resolving these and other problems we have to overcome not only the indecisiveness and inertia of a section of managers but also the opposition of those who will not accept what is new. Organizational and political work in the republic is now concentrated on the fuller utilization of internal production economic accountability and of contract forms in all their diversity, on the increased production of consumer goods, and on their improved quality. We support in every possible way those who, not afraid of making mistakes, boldly break stereotypes, think and act in a nonstandard way, and actively introduce economic methods of management. The changes at the "Elva," "Analitpribor," "Chiaturmarganets," "Azot," and many other associations clearly show that economically accountable principles of the collective's activity, a well-tuned mechanism of mutual transactions, the priority resolution of many social questions, and universal economic education quickly produce results. A creative approach to the economic reform is also manifested in the agro-industrial complex of Makharadzevskiy, Tsalendzhikhskiy, Lanchkhutskiy, Vanskiy, Akhaltsikhskiy, and a number of other rayons.

In order to speed things up, we have decided to create test beds of a kind in the city of Poti and in Abashskiy Rayon to develop and check new approaches to the acceleration of socioeconomic transformations. This is the task that is being resolved: to transfer each of these regions to full territorial economic accountability by shaping an integral economic mechanism. The next stage includes the transfer of autonomous formations and then the whole republic to regional economic accountability. Of course, this problem cannot be resolved at a stroke, but along precisely this path we see the possibility of overcoming extensive trends in the economy's development. There is plenty of work here for everyone, including the trade unions.

Agricultural

All-Union Seminar Discusses Sheep Raising

PM2206114588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 8 Jun 88 p 6

[TASS report: "Highland Sheep Flocks"]

[Text] Zelenchukskaya Karachayevo-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, 7 Jun—Urgent problems concerning the further development of sheep rearing for meat and wool have been discussed at an all-union seminar-conference that has just finished in the Karachayevo-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast's Zelenchukskiy Rayon. Together with scientists from the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Sheep and Goat Rearing the inhabitants of Zelenchukskiy Rayon have put considerable effort into raising breeds of sheep adapted to the stony terrain and fickle climate of transhumant highland pasture. Their many years of creative research have been crowned with success: The hardy, placid animals produce not only a fleece of crystal-like sheen but high-grade meat.

Specialists from the USSR Agroprom, sheepraisers, leaders of economically accountable sheep-raising teams, animal husbandry experts, and breeders stressed at the seminar-conference the importance of universally improving the work of pedigree breeding, consolidating the feed base, and introducing the lease contract. G.S. Ogryzkin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Department of Agriculture and the Food Industry, took part in the seminar-conference's work.

Agricultural Developments for 18-22 Jun

LD2206234288 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 18-22 June. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

20 June

Harvesting of winter crops has begun in north Osetiya, specifically in the Mozdokskiy Rayon. (0204)

Harvesting is picking up pace in the south of the Soviet Union, in the republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus. The crop seems to be good. In most parts of the country the grain ripens much later, and specialists do not risk making any forecasts. There are some positive tendencies in agriculture which are encouraging. For 2 years in a row, farmers have produced the biggest grain harvests since the beginning of the eighties, and that was done in difficult weather conditions. (Moscow World Service in English 0700)

A meeting on farm machinery at Gosagroprom today heard of serious shortages of harvesting equipment in Tajikistan, Turkmenia, and several oblasts of the RSSFR and Kazakhstan. Kharkov works has failed to supply 1,200 of the powerful T-150 tractors. Several factories have yet to provide the farmers with considerable numbers of feed harvesters, while others are failing to meet an acute shortage of spare parts. The farms are also being let down by the motor works, the petrochemical and chemical industries, and other ministries and departments. (1000)

21 June

Farmers in Osh Oblast, Kirghiziya, have started harvesting barley and wheat. (0204)

Rice sowing has been completed in the paddy fields of Turkmenistan. (1300)

The harvesting of wheat and barley in Uzbekistan has been carried out on one-third of the fields. (1330)

Grain has been cut on 250,000 hectares in Uzbekistan to this day. However, owing to mismanagement, around 1,500 combines are idle in the republic as a whole. (1500)

22 June

The first large-scale irrigation systems are being installed in the Kulundinskaya steppe, Altay Kray. Water has arrived in the fields via a 200-km canal. Construction work is continuing. The collective of the Altayvodstroy association is constructing the major Novotroitsk irrigated area. Last year the first irrigation allowed a grain yield of 27 hectares per quintal to be obtained. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 0555)

Scientific

'Cosmos-1955' Satellite Launched 23 Jun

LD2306071988 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Yet another satellite of the Cosmos series, the Cosmos-1,955, was launched by a Soyuz booster rocket in the USSR on Wednesday for a continuation of space research.

The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters: initial orbital period—89.8 minutes; the maximum distance from the earth's surface—382 km; the minimum distance from the earth's surface—181 km; and orbital inclination—64.8 degrees.

The onboard equipment is functioning normally.

Cosmonauts Prepare for Space Walk From 'Mir'

LD2206115888 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the ground Control Center:

Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, just out of demanding work during a recent visit by a Soviet-Bulgarian team and the subsequent redocking of a spaceship to the other end of their orbiting platform, began preparing today for another challenging job—a piece of extra-vehicular activity (EVA).

The cosmonauts, who have completed their sixth month in orbit and been given some time to rest after the departure of the visiting international team, will make the space walk to replace a detector unit on an X-ray telescope with an upgraded one.

This will be done under a joint decision of Soviet, Dutch and British experts to increase the telescope's efficiency and service life.

The crew are studying technical records and checking equipment and tools needed for the EVA job.

Both men are feeling well. The flight of the orbiting platform Mir is proceeding normally.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Science Session

LD1806015388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A joint sitting of the coordinating council of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet was held today in Moscow.

[S. Medvedev, reporter—identified by screen caption] The main question that those attending the sitting were to answer was: How can the contribution made by the scientific institutions of the capital toward accelerating its social and economic development be increased? It was opened by Comrade Zaykov.

[Begin recording] [Zaykov] So, in the city party committee and, I must say, in the Central Committee, too, we are extremely gratified by the fact that the Academy of Sciences has so actively involved itself in a very complicated problem—the problem of scientific and technical progress at Moscow enterprises, in the first place—and, undoubtedly, the application of scientific and technical progress to the city's economy. We are thereby, in a way, drawing closer to combining sectoral interests with territorial interests. Without our scientists, we cannot today, in a region that is as complex as Moscow, move forward. You have ample resources. The main force of all science is in Moscow. We have 60,000 scientists and research assistants here in Moscow. So, as people keep telling us, Muscovites hold all the cards. We present you with Moscow as a testing ground for devising and introducing the latest various achievements that we shall develop with you. [end recording]

[Medvedev] Today, as was emphasized by those attending the sitting—Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Saykin, chairman of the Moscow city soviet's executive committee; Kuznetsov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician Yershov; and others—broad opportunities for the capital's scientists to participate in the city's development have been created within the framework of the Progress-95 territorial-sectoral program. The opportunities help financial autonomy and self-financing to be introduced at enterprises, complex ecological problems to be tackled, health care to be developed, and economic management to be improved.

However, the speakers said, a grand science has not yet been properly set in motion. Intersectoral barriers get in the way, as well as the weak material base and the imperfect economic mechanism. These difficulties are to be overcome by the system, which is being set up, for the scientific management of the resolution of the city's complex problems, and for scientific support for the process of perestroyka and acceleration.

Military

Booster Rocket Launchings Into Pacific Announced

LD2206151288 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—Launchings of booster rockets will be made in the Soviet Union in the period from June 25 to July 4, 1988 into Pacific areas limited by:

A rectangle with the coordinates of the apexes 30 degrees 30 minutes Northern latitude and 170 degrees 10 minutes Eastern longitude, 30 degrees 45 minutes Northern latitude and 171 degrees 30 minutes Eastern longitude, 23 degrees 00 minutes Northern latitude and 173 degrees 40 minutes Eastern longitude, 22 degrees 45 minutes Northern latitude and 172 degrees 20 minutes Eastern longitude.

A rectangle with the coordinates of the apexes 18 degrees 00 minutes Northern latitude and 173 degrees 10 minutes Eastern longitude, 18 degrees 30 minutes Northern latitude and 175 degrees 20 minutes Eastern longitude, 16 degrees 40 minutes Northern latitude and 175 degrees 40 minutes Eastern longitude, 16 degrees 10 minutes Northern latitude and 173 degrees 30 minutes Eastern longitude.

A circle with a radius of 50 nautical miles with the centre having the coordinates of 10 degrees 45 minutes Northern latitude and 175 degrees 40 minutes Eastern longitude.

TASS is authorised to state that in order to ensure safety, the USSR Government asks the governments of other countries using sea lanes and air routes in the Pacific to give a directive to appropriate bodies so that ships and planes should not enter these areas and air space over them from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. local time every day.